HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Liberal Protests Expected

Will Nixon Help Otepka?

By WILLARD EDWARDS

The State Department's alarms about a prospective shakeup under the Nixon Administration have focused on a mystified target, Otto F. Otepka.

Suddenly, Otto F. Otepka has found himself pictured as a menacing figure, a potential "purger" of the diplomatic corps.

Among those galloping to the rescue of the frightened denizens of Foggy Bottom was Arthur Schlesinger Jr., court historian of the Kennedy regime, who, with a splendid disregard for the facts, labeled Otepka a "McCarthyite bureaucrat" in a recent New York *Times Magazine* article.

Schlesinger, like all other liberal spokesmen, had never recognized Otepka's existence during Otepka's spectacular five-year battle for reinstatement to his former post as chief of evaluations in the State Department's security office. He ignored the Senate inquiry which resulted last January in an official finding of "extraordinary, calculated harassment" by Secretary of State Dean Rusk and other high-ranking officials against a conscientious public servant.

Ignorance may thus excuse Schlesinger's slapping of the "McCarthyite" label on Otepka. The facts: Otepka was in the employ of the Civil Service Commission when the late Sen. Joe McCarthy burst upon the national scene in 1950 with his charges of Communist infiltration of the State Department.

Otepka did not transfer to the State Department until near the end of McCarthy's investigating career. The two men never met or communicated with each other. Otepka's troubles with his superiors did not begin until six years after the end of the so-called McCarthy era. In that period, he gained the highest commendation from Eisenhower Administration officials for his scrupulous and fair-minded attitude in security work.

Hopefully, there will be one old face back in a responsible job at the State Department under the Nixon Administration—that of untairly ousted Otto Otepka (left).

Now, however, Otepka, a lonely figure on leave without pay as he continues his fight for vindication, has discovered to his astonishment that his return to his old job raised the horror of "another McCarthy era."

The intent of the malignant barrage is obviously to pressure President-elect Nixon into drawing back from a pre-election promise to review the evidence in the Otepka case and see that justice is done.

This pledge has been linked to remarks made at Dallas during the campaign in which Nixon pledged to "clean house" at the State Department, adding that "there are some good men in the State Department and I know who they are."

Was something "truly sinister" in the works? Thus questioned the Washington *Post* in an editorial which noted Nixon's "sympathetic words" about Otepka in an interview with this reporter. Was Otepka one of the "good men" mentioned by Nixon? The whole affair had "a special rather disquieting meaning."

On the same day that Schlesinger aired his forebodings about the Nixon Administration in general, and Otepka's role in particular, the *Post* gave its readers an account of the panic in the State Department, noting there was "talk" that Otepka had been "making threats."

Otepka's astounded denial of this amazing charge, and his insistence that all he wanted was "vindication," was dutifully quoted, but the prospect of Otepka's restoration to his former post, it was noted, had created "fears that a purge reminiscent of the McCarthy era might not be far behind."

To Otepka, it's an old story. It began back in 1960 when the Kennedy Administration asked him to approve waivers of security investigations on a number of prominent appointees. He insisted upon following regulations, was promptly put under surveillance, isolated and demoted. His telephone was tapped. In 1963, he was fired. In 1968, after a legal battle which cost more than $25,000, he won his job back but was reprimanded and stripped of his security duties.

His last recourse, in an effort to remove this stigma from his record, is to the federal courts. He and his attorney, Roger Robb, are hopeful that action by Nixon will make a court appeal unnecessary.

To Nixon, too, it's an old story. No man elected to the presidency was ever better equipped to detect malice in attacks on an individual; to separate fact from fiction in the delicate field of security procedures.

He has many weighty matters on his mind, but those who know him best do not doubt that he will keep his pre-election promise to review the evidence in the Otepka case to insure justice, in his words, "to this man who has served his country so long and so well."

(1968, Chicago Tribune-N.Y. News Syndicate)

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Capital Briefs

● **Rodman Rockefeller**, Nelson's son, has told intimates that Nixon has turned down Rocky's request to be secretary of state. Rodman, however, says the President-elect told the New York governor he could have the secretary of defense post if he really wanted it.

● Much attention has been focused on the experience and admitted expertise of **Bryce Harlow**, who will be Nixon's White House man in charge of congressional relations, but those who know him well also say that Harlow is a rock-ribbed conservative.

● A top-level adviser to Hubert Humphrey says the Humphrey camp has only one real regret about the campaign: LBJ, it is felt, should have delayed the North Viet Nam **bombing halt** by one day. If that had happened, the Humphreyites believe, the voters would not have had time to see the bombing-halt maneuver explode in the President's face.

● At the campaign headquarters of Sen. **Jacob Javits** (R.-N.Y.) on election night, according to the New York Times, "campaign workers applauded every television report of a Humphrey gain."

● The Rev. **Milton Galamison**—John Lindsay's choice for the New York City Board of Education—continues his radical ways. Militant Milton, along with Stokely Carmichael, recently signed an ad appearing in the New York Times to help raise funds for the legal defense of assassination advocate and convicted rapist Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information for the Black Panthers. Other names included in the pro-Cleaver ad: James Baldwin, Richard Rovere, George Plimpton, Arthur Miller and Graham Greene.

● Gov. Ronald Reagan of California may soon find the Republicans in control of the state senate, now divided equally between the Democrats and the GOP. State Sen. **Hugh Burns**, a Fresno Democrat and president pro tem of the Golden State's upper chamber, is thinking of switching parties. A conservative Democrat, Burns supported Richard Nixon over Hubert Humphrey in the 1968 election.

● An American journalist back from Paris says that U.S. Ambassador **Sargent Shriver** is looked upon as something of a joke by the French. Instead of concentrating on diplomatic duties, he contends, Shriver tries to make a hit with the American youth, some of whom could prove to be of use to Shriver should he return to the U.S. to launch a political career.

● Negro state legislator **Julian Bond**, whose name was put up for a vice presidential nomination at the Democratic convention, says that Negroes "will be lucky to survive" under a Nixon Administration.

● Taxpayer funds are being used to finance a massive legal challenge to the federal government. **Anti-poverty lawyers** last week filed suits in 26 states on behalf of poor people in 50 counties who are not receiving food stamps from the Department of Agriculture. "It's legitimate for the government to pay people to sue it," said Gerson M. Green, research director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. "This is better than resorting to the streets."

● In its November 19 special on Fidel Castro, the **Columbia Broadcasting System** portrayed the Communist dictator as a noble idealist who, despite the institution of some harsh measures, has improved the welfare of the lot of the average Cuban. To underscore its point, CBS then refrained from saying "Communist" in describing the Soviet Union and its satellites, preferring to use the term "Socialist nations."

● **Stephen Smith** is the latest Kennedy to catch the political bug. The shaggy-haired brother-in-law, who controls the family fortune from a posh New York office, is considering a race for mayor next year against John Lindsay. His other "option," according to intimates, is the gubernatorial campaign in 1970.

● Behind those turbulent demonstrations at San Francisco State College has been **Dr. Nathan Hare**, outspoken "Black Power" advocate. Earlier this month, Hare sent the following message to militants at Washington's Howard University: "Unless every Howard student comes armed with a shotgun and a Molotov cocktail they are defenseless against an oppressive 'Amos 'n Andy' administration."

● LBJ will leave office with perhaps the worst record for credibility of any President in history, Sigma Delta Chi, the national journalism society, reported last week. The **"credibility gap"** reached "awesome proportions" under Johnson, according to the newsmen, with the White House and the Pentagon the toughest beats to cover. Congress passed a "freedom of information act," the journalists noted, but Johnson frequently managed to obstruct or ignore the statute.

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Tight Race for GOP Whip

When the 91st session of Congress convenes January 3, liberal and conservative Republicans will be set to wage a vigorous battle for control of party leadership in the Senate. Everett Dirksen will still be chief of the Senate GOP, but a sharp contest is now under way for the assistant leadership post, now held by Thomas Kuchel, the lame duck California liberal. Kuchel was knocked out of the Whip spot when he lost a primary fight for renomination to the Senate in June.

HRUSKA

Conservative forces are gathering behind Roman Hruska, the only senator in the last session of Congress to post a 100 per cent conservative voting record by standards set down by the authoritative Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA). Liberals are pushing for Hugh Scott, the Pennsylvania Republican who voted conservatively only 52 per cent of the time and who has repeatedly sabotaged the party's right wing.

The outcome of the contest could determine the future shape of the Senate GOP, since the assistant leader will be well placed to one day succeed Dirksen, now 73 and troubled by a lung infection. Despite Scott's own predictions and the kowtowing liberal press, Hruska is the odds-on favorite and counts in his corner a majority of the 42 GOP senators.

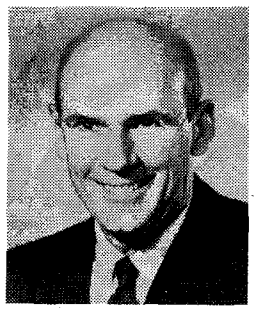
Lining up support for Hruska are Senators John Tower (Tex.), Howard Baker (Tenn.) and George Murphy (Calif.). Tower has been assigned to touch base with conservative senators, Baker with the moderates and some liberals and Murphy with newly elected solons. Carl Curtis (Neb.) is hoping to keep his good friend John Williams (Del.) in line for Hruska, for though Williams is a rock-ribbed conservative he has never fully forgiven Hruska for opposing him on the appointment of David Bress for U.S. attorney. Dirksen is also discreetly backing his good friend Hruska.

While Hruska is definitely the favorite, Scott is given a fighting chance for victory. He reportedly believes he starts off with a minimum of 15 supporters. Aside from himself, he thinks these senators are on his side: Aiken (Vt.), Boggs (Del.), Brooke (Mass.), Case (N.J.), Cooper (Ky.), Fong (Hawaii), Goodell (N.Y.), Hatfield (Ore.), Javits (N.Y.), Mathias (Md.), Percy (Ill.), Prouty (Vt.), Schweiker (Pa.), and Smith (Me.). Scott's hope for victory lies in picking up the doubtfuls, among them being: Cook (Ky.), Griffin (Mich.), Packwood (Ore.), Pearson (Kans.) and Saxbe (Ohio).

While Hruska should win, *Human Events* feels the race is close enough so that readers should write their senators requesting them to get behind the Nebraska conservative.

California's 'Odd Couple'

California's Sen.-elect Alan Cranston, a way-out liberal Democrat, blew into Washington last week touting a man he thought would be a perfect choice for Nixon's secretary of the interior. Cranston's favorite for the job: lame duck U.S. Sen. Thomas Kuchel, a nominal Republican.



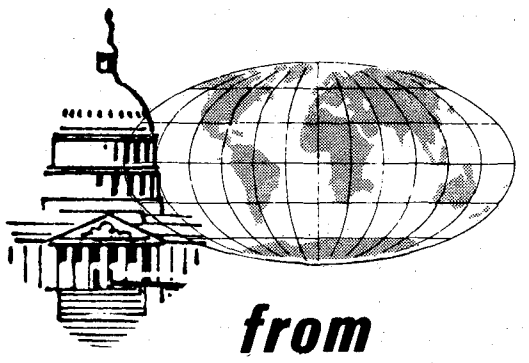
CRANSTON

According to Cranston, Kuchel has a wonderful record on conservation and pollution controls and would make a "highly qualified and very fine" Cabinet officer.

Cranston's exultation over Kuchel did not exactly have people falling out of their chairs. Kuchel, who has refused to support such Republicans as Richard Nixon (in 1962), Barry Goldwater, George Murphy and Ronald Reagan, virtually handed Cranston his victory by refusing to endorse or rally his supporters behind conservative Republican Max Rafferty, who had managed to defeat "Spoil Sport Tommy" in the June primary.

Indeed, so helpful was Kuchel's hands-off-Rafferty attitude toward Cranston that California's Senator-elect maintains that his very first phone call on election night went to Kuchel, thanking him for his "golden silence."

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



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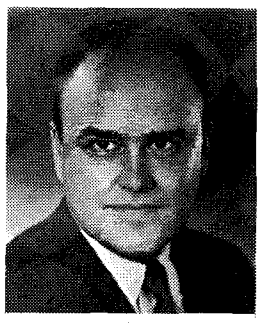
Inside Washington

For so loyally aiding a liberal Democrat and reducing Republican strength in the Senate, Kuchel, Cranston declares, should now get a fat reward from Nixon. It is hoped, however, that Nixon will ignore the advice of left-winger Cranston.

Last-Minute Spending Spree

Rep. Melvin Laird (R.-Wis.), a close Nixon adviser, has been warning fellow Republicans in the House that the Johnson Administration has so structured the past several budgets that it might be a while before Nixon could hope to bring spending into line with income. And despite all the folderol about the Administration helping to smooth the way for the Republicans to take over, the government agencies are now gearing up for a last-minute spending splurge that will make it even more difficult for the next President to trim spending.



LAIRD

The LBJ-picked bureaucracy is hoping to get as many new federal aid programs going as possible, believing Nixon will then find it very troublesome to cut back expenditures for fear of alienating potential beneficiaries.

Secretary Robert C. Weaver of the Housing and Urban Development Department has told the *Wall Street Journal* the new Administration "will find a going concern with plenty of momentum." HUD's New Town program to stimulate the growth of satellite communities outside major cities is expected to get a quick shove. New federal financial aid is now available, and HUD planners are pressing for new commitments "to get the program moving before we leave."

LBJ's Model Cities program is being energetically expanded. The roster of cities selected to receive planning money was lengthened from 125 to 148 just last week, and at least six of the earlier selections will be awarded additional funds to begin carrying out their plans. As *Human Events* has previously pointed out, model cities funds, supposedly aimed at upgrading slums, have actually been used to finance racial extremists and feed Democratic bureaucrats.

The scandal-ridden Office of Economic Opportunity is also preparing a sudden spurt of activity, and HEW Secretary Wilbur Cohen is goading Johnson to propose a variety of new social-welfare programs in his final budget.

Nor is this all. "Even the Pentagon," according to the *Journal*, "is joining the effort to bring pressure on the next Administration." Defense Secretary Clark Clifford recently proclaimed his desire to enlist the military establishment to meet social needs, including lower-cost housing construction and aid for slum dwellers. Now he wants to see his ideas get off the ground before the next Administration takes office.

In these and other ways, outgoing Democrats are trying to prevent Nixon from carrying out his campaign promise of cutting down on federal spending.

UK Envoy Should Be Recalled

As a result of Richard Nixon's election victory, demands are now being made that the Socialist government in England rescind the appointment of John "Red" Freeman, England's new ambassador-designate to the United States.

Diplomatic circles contend that the selection of Freeman, a bitter critic of Nixon, could greatly sour Anglo-American relations. But Freeman's anti-Nixonisms aren't the only cause for concern; so is his decidedly left-wing philosophy.

Last March Britain's Labor (Socialist) party leader and Prime Minister Harold Wilson (an Oxford contemporary and long-time friend of Freeman's) appointed Churchill's conservative in-law, Christopher Soames, to the ambassadorship in Paris. The left wing of the Socialist party squawked, but Wilson managed to mute the discontented cries by naming John "Red" Freeman to the far more crucial Washington embassy.

Thrice-married and a member of the Labor party since the age of 18, Freeman was elected to the British Parliament in 1944. The Communist London *Daily Worker* (Aug. 20, 1944) hailed his election, pronounced Freeman a "cheery companion" and delighted in the fact he was known to his "friends as 'Red Freeman'. . . ."

During the first two Socialist Administrations of the post-war era, "Red" filled a number of minor executive posts in the War Office until 1947 when Prime Minister Attlee appointed him Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Supply, a post which he held until 1951. Though the Socialist government was financially on the rocks, Freeman, along with such left-wing Laborites like "Nye" Bevan and Jennie Lee (an ADA favorite), bolted the government in protest of proposed budget cuts in social services.

He next hooked up with the left-wing *New Statesman* weekly, faithfully serving under the doyen of Socialist journalism, Kingsly Martin. Martin, who should know, described Freeman as "rather much left-wing in his view."

After succeeding Martin as editor in 1960, Freeman took every opportunity to assail Nixon. In November 1962, under the pen-name "Flavus," Freeman, commenting on Nixon's unsuccessful bid for the California governorship, asserted that "Mr. Nixon's defeat is a victory for decency in public life."

The same article insisted Nixon "dirtied his hands in Senator Joe McCarthy's cesspool; his senseless and malicious campaign in the fifties of harrying and smearing as Red every liberal influence has done lasting damage to conventions of American political life."

In 1964, Freeman denounced Nixon, along with Barry Goldwater and Henry Cabot Lodge, as "discredited and outmoded purveyors of the irrational. . . ."

Nonetheless, Harold Wilson, who must have known that Nixon had an excellent chance of becoming President in 1968, tapped Freeman earlier this year for the sensitive Washington post. To many, Wilson's move was either a first-rate diplomatic blunder or a calculated insult.

Friends of the Nixon Administration are hoping the President-elect will bluntly tell the British he

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wants no part of Freeman. Because part of the Administration's present problems can be traced to permitting the British to call the shots in both Viet Nam and Rhodesia, Nixon, it is being said, should let it be known immediately he has no intention of acquiescing to the policies or personnel foisted on the United States by No. 10 Downing Street.

Wilmington Poverty Scandal

Here's one more tale of scandal which helps explain why President-elect Richard Nixon wants to phase out much of the anti-poverty program:

Seven men charged with the savage beating of two FBI agents have been linked to a Wilmington, Del., anti-poverty agency that has received more than $100,000 in federal funds during the past year.

The Wilmington-based agents, Frank Grant and James Snyder, had made a routine arrest of a suspected Army deserter when they were set upon by 15 to 20 men. The attackers "liberated" the alleged deserter—who escaped in handcuffs—and beat up both G-men.

Nine of the alleged assailants were picked up shortly thereafter, seven of them affiliated with the Wilmington Youth Emergency Action Council (WYEAC), according to Assistant U.S. Attorney Vincent Ramunno.

WYEAC is a federally funded anti-poverty group that has been described by Wilmington police as a training ground for "Black Power" extremists.

According to Ramunno, three of the suspects were on the WYEAC payroll at the time of the assault. Four others were suspended employes.

Three of the four were arrested in August when Wilmington police discovered they were carrying out guerrilla "maneuvers" in an abandoned section of the city. The three, members of the militant Black Liberation Army, were armed and had used a WYEAC van for transportation to the maneuver site.

Sen. John McClellan (D.-Ark.) ordered a thorough probe of the WYEAC several months ago and two crack investigators have been on the scene in Wilmington. McClellan's Permanent Investigations subcommittee is expected to hold public hearings on the Wilmington scandal.

Left-Wing Sabotage Conspiracy?

A nationwide conspiracy of arson and sabotage is under intensive investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. One suspect is now in custody, four others are being sought and federal officials say that "dozens" may be involved by the end of the investigation.

FBI agents last week charged a 22-year-old Army deserter, Daniel C. Guirkins, with bombing the Alameda County (Calif.) Courthouse in Oakland and the R.O.T.C. headquarters at the University of California.

Guirkins has been in Army custody for the past month but four alleged accomplices, including a 30-year-old Iranian national, are still at large. Authorities raided the home of two of the fugitives and discovered a veritable arsenal.

Seized along with U.S. Army manuals on booby traps and mines were dynamite, blasting caps, explosives, and an electronic detonating device. Also seized were Communist tracts on guerrilla warfare, detailed area maps and a list of potential targets, including microwave stations and defense plants. Security officials believe that the alleged saboteurs have ties with radical leftists throughout the country. They point to a rash of sabotage attacks in recent weeks, many of which have been "hushed up" so as not to spread panic.

"There is nationwide coordination," says a top federal official. "There's no doubt about it."

Little more than a week ago, Detroit police arrested 13 young radicals in connection with a series of bombings across the state of Michigan. The defendants, all of whom have been charged with "conspiracy to place explosives with intent to damage," face 25-year jail terms if convicted.

The Michigan bombings include two draft boards in Roseville, an army recruiting station in Detroit, a CIA office in Ann Arbor, a defense research installation at the University of Michigan, a school administration building in St. Clair Shores and three Detroit police parking lots.

Police stations in several areas of the country are coming under attack. A single station in St. Louis, for instance, has been bombed three times in recent months. And a New York station house was bombed earlier this month. Both the New York and St. Louis bombings have been linked to militant black power groups, although arrests have not yet been made.

Security officials believe that some of the saboteurs are followers of Robert Franklin Williams, a fugitive from U.S. justice now operating from Tanzania, the Marxist outpost on the east coast of Africa.

Williams, who has spent considerable time in Havana and Peking, is "chairman-in-exile" of the super-secret Revolutionary Action Movement. He is known to have smuggled instructions into the U.S. urging his comrades to make guerrilla attacks against the police and other "racist lackeys."

Someone Else But Nelse

Conservatives across the country have reacted with some vehemence to continuing suggestions that Nixon appoint Gov. Nelson Rockefeller to a Cabinet position. While a few conservative commentators—notably William F. Buckley—believe Rockefeller would work out in the position of secretary of defense, most believe the selection of the New York governor would set back Nixon's desire to transform the GOP into a majority party.

ROCKEFELLER

Rockefeller's liberalism, for instance, is considered anathema to the South, but that is where Republicans will have to forage in order to obtain new voters. Placing Rocky in the Cabinet, it is asserted, will only swell the size of the Wallace movement.

It is also argued that the Republican party owes very little to the New York governor. Political observers believe that Rocky—both in 1960 and 1964—did more to ruin Republican chances for victory on the national level than any other single individual. In 1968 he led the move in New York to prevent Nixon from running on the Conservative party ballot, thus quite possibly costing Nixon the state's electoral votes.

While Rocky did make some speeches on behalf of the GOP presidential candidate this year, his campaign organization in New York helped sabotage the Nixon effort. "There was virtually no campaign for Nixon in much of the state," says one Nixonite who was in a place to know. His story has been countlessly repeated by other politicos in the state.

As just one example of how the state headquarters for Nixon-Agnew helped to wreck the Nixon cause, comments one authoritative source, the Rockefeller forces who headed it up refused to distribute pro-Nixon literature. This source insists they "stashed away in a bathroom at the Commodore Hotel 150,000 copies of a pamphlet, paid for by Max Fisher of the United Jewish Appeal, that was supposed to be distributed to the Jewish community." Written by Prof. Joseph Dunner, a senior professor of political science at Yeshiva University, the pamphlet nailed the lie that Nixon was anti-Semitic and appealed to Jewish voters on the law-and-order issue and Nixon's pro-Israel, anti-Soviet stance.

The November 7 New York *Times* best summed up the attitude of the Rockefeller forces when it reported that "one of the local phenomenon in the aftermath of the election was the gloom found among workers in Javits' and Rockefeller's offices yesterday." "Many," the *Times* explained, "had rooted openly for Vice President Humphrey."

Aside from these political factors, many believe Rocky would not necessarily turn into a good administrator of the Defense Department. For one thing, many believe he has not done such an able job in New York. For another, there is some question as to just how "hard" Rocky is on defense matters. While he assailed the Eisenhower Administration for a non-existent missile gap, his voice was terribly muted while the Kennedy-Johnson regimes slashed away at our atomic superiority over the Soviets. He also took after Goldwater when he called for a strengthening of our defense forces. Finally, he has continued to use as a chief consultant Emmet John Hughes, an advocate of unilateral disarmament who helped frame Rocky's appeasement-leaning Viet Nam statement in the 1968 campaign.

There is still another factor to be considered. If Rockefeller is appointed and then Nixon has to fire him, the liberal news media would beat him over the head with it. For all these reasons, Nixon, it is argued, would be better off to let Rocky stay in Albany.

Chicago Vote Frauds Confirmed

Liberal columnists Evans and Novak are getting publicity these days for having confirmed widespread charges that the Democrats engaged in wholesale vote fraud in Chicago. While Democratic officials bar newsmen from polling places, the columnists managed to obtain pollwatchers' credentials to observe "democracy, Chicago-style, in several polling places on the black West Side."

What they discovered "showed that lurid Republican charges leveled for years have not been exaggerated." In the 45th precinct, for example, they considered voter registration meaningless, since potential voters didn't have to provide any credentials.

"Even more remarkable," they contend, "was what happened inside the voting booth. Without asking whether the voter wanted help, the election judge—an attractive young lady in a bright red dress—entered the booth with every voter and instructed him to pull the Democratic straight-party lever, breaking the state law.

"Once the curtain had closed and the voter was alone inside the booth, the judge would hover just outside so that the vote was anything but secret. If the voter tarried more than 30 seconds and thus appeared to be splitting his ticket, the judge would reach inside to tap him on the shoulder or even re-enter the booth with him.

"Nobody was permitted close to the four-minute maximum time in the booth. When one voter had spent more than a minute inside, the precinct captain shoulted across the room to the judge: 'Come on, get her out of there.'. . . .

"Such activity by judges is no less illegal than the conduct of the assistant Democratic precinct captain, who roamed about the polling place wearing Humphrey buttons—still another violation.

"The assistant captain would usher certain voters into the school, then retire outside while they voted. When each left, the assistant captain would hand him what looked like a white chit. Without variation, the voters carrying chits would walk halfway down the block into an alley.

"The outrages of the 45th precinct," they stress, "did not vary greatly from what we observed elsewhere on the West Side Tuesday. Moreover, they echoed reports of irregularities from hundreds of precincts which poured into the headquarters of Operation Eagle Eye, the voter security operation run by the county Republican organization."

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1960 and 1968: A Comparison

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

The commentators pick it up from the pundits, repeat it, and it becomes "fact" to the general public. That's how the line is set. And the line on the presidential election has now emerged: Richard Nixon, we are told, has "no mandate" because he won by a "razor thin" plurality. The fact that almost 60 per cent of the electorate repudiated the "liberal"-labor coalition of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration is conveniently forgotten.

The argument is further advanced that Mr. Nixon's victory was compromised by his failure to sweep in a Republican Congress—or even to make large inroads in Democratic strength on Capitol Hill. This may or may not be true. What is true is that the purveyors of this line have forgotten their words and attitudes of eight years ago.

Recall the excitement that swept the "liberal" community after John F. Kennedy's election, the talk of his mandate to remake the United States in his image, the brave predictions? Were they based on any great popular sweep? Could the new President lay claim to powerful coattails? The facts speak otherwise.

Mr. Kennedy's 1960 plurality: 112,800 votes.

Mr. Nixon's 1968 plurality: 336,100 votes.

The figures for 1968 are not final. When all the absentee ballots are counted, Mr. Nixon's plurality may be more than three times Mr. Kennedy's. And this does not take into account the 1960 vote steals in Mayor Daley's Chicago, in St. Louis and in Texas. Counted, these votes would have given Mr. Nixon the election. This hardly bespoke a "mandate" for John F. Kennedy.

How powerful were the candidate coattails in electing the House of Representatives?

1960: 21 seats lost by the Democrats

1968: 4 seats picked up by the Republicans

How about the Senate?

1960: 2 seats lost by the Democrats

1968: 5 seats won by the Republicans.

In the governorship races, the contrast is most dramatic. In 1960 the Democrats under Mr. Kennedy were unable to pick up a single governor's mansion. In 1968 the Republicans under Mr. Nixon elected five additional governors, giving them 31 in all. In 1960, despite the Kennedy victory, the Republicans were able to pick up 290 seats in state legislatures. The figures are not yet in for 1968, but it is certain that this trend continued. The dramatic example was in California which, with a Democratic preponderance in registration, re-elected a Republican State Senate and for the first time in 10 years elected a Republican House.

To argue, then, that Mr. Nixon has "no mandate" makes little sense. And to insist that because of his showing, Mr. Nixon must set up a coalition government, including many "liberal" Democrats, is even more illogical. According to this reasoning, Mr. Kennedy's Cabinet and his major appointments should have been predominantly conservative Republican—a suggestion that would have been met—and justifiably—by loud whoops from the commentators.

The 56 per cent of the electorate that voted against the Johnson Administration constitutes President-elect Nixon's mandate. Thirteen per cent of that vote went far beyond the GOP in its condemnation of the kind of government it had been getting for the past eight years.

In John Kennedy's 1960 victory, the Democrats lost 21 seats in the House and 2 in the Senate.

A broad majority of the country, and this includes some of the Democratic voters, believed that Mr. Nixon could bring the war in Viet Nam to an end more quickly and more equitably than Hubert Humphrey. That majority believed that Mr. Nixon would have more effective ways to deal with violence and crime than his Democratic opponent. It was convinced that the Democrats could no longer cope with the bureaucratic elephantiasis in the Federal Establishment, and with the economic and political problems which the bureaucracy spawned.

Whether or not Mr. Nixon can deliver is another question. He will bring to the task one of the world's most astute political minds, and a new team of high calibre to serve him as advisers. But the problems are so gigantic that Mr. Nixon may be unable to cope with them. If he lives up to his promise that he will decentralize the Federal Establishment and render unto the states, the municipalities, and the private sector what is legitimately theirs, then he will have taken the first giant step toward governmental sanity.

Some Presidents create their own mandates. Mr. Nixon's has been tailor-made. He need only accept it.

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BURN A PUPPY FOR PEACE— Chapters of the radical-left Students for a Democratic Society have announced plans to burn dogs with napalm to dramatize opposition to the Viet Nam war. Two such burnings were recently scheduled, but called off when local officials indicated that those responsible would be arrested. Other SDS chapters have indicated they will burn the animals anyway.

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RIEGLE VS. HART— It's all but official that the Republican senatorial candidate to oppose incumbent Democratic Sen. Phillip Hart in Michigan in 1970 will be young (30) Rep. Don Riegle, who just won a second term with an impressive 57 per cent victory in the normally Democratic stronghold of Flint. Lt. Gov. Robert Milliken, a Rockefeller liberal, is expected to be the GOP gubernatorial candidate, replacing incumbent George Romney, who expects an appointment in the Nixon Administration.

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De Gaulle Shows Signs Of U.S. Reconciliation

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Have the French riots, the Soviets' rape of Czechoslovakia and the American people's choice of Richard Nixon brought about a change in France's foreign policy?

Certain recent French statements point in this direction.

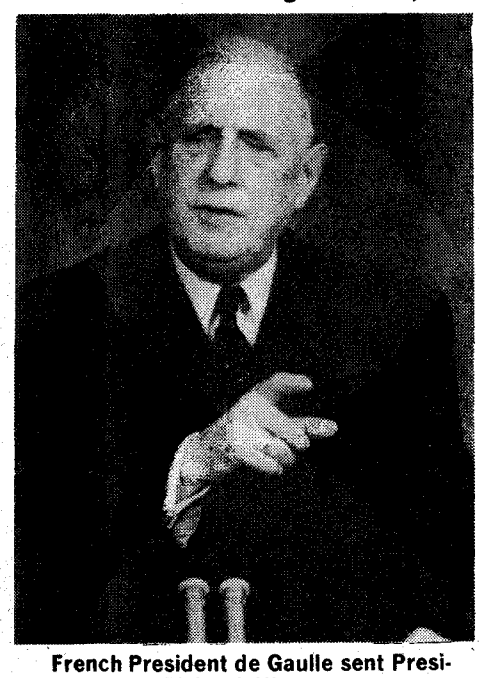
The first was President de Gaulle's effusive telegram of congratulations to the American President-elect, which I give in full:

"At the time when the people have just designated you to guide the destiny of the United States, I want to extend to you, with my warm and cordial congratulations, my most sincere wishes for the success of your high mission. I also want to express to you the wishes I form that the friendship which has always linked our two peoples will contribute to establishing a just peace in the world."

Coming from a chief of state whose policy of "independence" has been based upon keeping a balance between Washington and Moscow, these words seem to go somewhat beyond official politeness.

Moreover, in his recent statement to the NATO foreign ministers in Brussels, France's representative, Michel Debre, admitted that Moscow's aggression against Czechoslovakia demonstrated that Moscow is still unwilling to go all the way to real detente with the West. To be sure, Debre added that the Western nations have "no choice" but to continue working for such a detente.

This, of course, is untrue—and I believe that France's foreign minister, who



French President de Gaulle sent President-elect Richard Nixon a warm congratulatory telegram.

has always had a sort of weakness for a real Atlantic partnership, knows it.

Most Western leaders now realize that their first task is to create an Atlantic partnership which will be able to convince Moscow that there will be a real detente only when the Russians renounce indirect and ideological as well as direct aggression. This means, of course, the end of any American groping for some sort of two-power hegemony (disguised as a peace alliance) with the Muscovite leaders. It means dropping the proliferation treaty which, in my judgment, intended to keep West Germany, Italy, India, Japan and other proud peoples in a permanently inferior status. This conviction has recently been eloquently expressed by the former Italian ambassador to Washington, Sergio Fenoaltea.

Well and good, the reader may admit, but will Gen. de Gaulle see the light and resume full membership in a powerful Atlantic partnership?

I believe he may, provided Washington convinces him it is prepared to conduct all future negotiations with Moscow through that partnership.

The reasons for such a change by the general are increasingly evident. The French people are only now beginning to pay the awful price of the irresponsible student-workman semi-revolt last spring. The economic shutdown cost France billions of dollars, undermined its balance of payments, caused a flight from the French franc and conceivably raised French wages above the competitive level within the Common Market.

The Soviet crime against the Czechs demonstrated that it takes two to "relax tensions."

The election of Richard Nixon may have convinced him that the United States is ready to drop the pro-Russian, "Anglo-Saxon" disregard for the European continent which has characterized Kennedy and Johnson, two Presidents for whom de Gaulle's admiration was, to say the least, limited.

These and other factors, such as his hope of preventing a Russo-American dyarchy, may have led the ever alert French President to start putting his money on a reconciliation with the United States and with NATO.

Nothing could contribute more to Western safety. For without France there can be no united Europe nor, in the long run, any Atlantic partnership.

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MULTIPLE-CHOICE PERILS—"The perils of multiple-choice questions were illustrated by a double-page advertisement for Xerox in the October issues of *Nation's Schools* and *School Management*. Xerox, demonstrating how its machine can grade as well as reproduce multiple-choice tests, showed a test on American history in which two out of the nine questions were faulty. One of the faulty questions was: 'A President who was not elected by the electoral college was (1) Jefferson, (2) Lincoln, (3) Cleveland, (4) Kennedy.' Xerox's 'correct answer': Jefferson. But Jefferson was elected by the college in 1804 (for his second term). What about the student who knew this, and knew also that the only correct answers are Hayes and John Quincy Adams? The other faulty question was: 'Under the present system of the electoral college, it is possible to have (1) no one elected vice president, (2) a President and a vice president from different political parties, (3) a President receive the majority of the electoral vote but not a majority of the popular vote, (4) a tie vote for the presidency.' Xerox's 'correct answer': (3). But other choices are correct, too. If just the electoral college is considered, the first and fourth answers are also correct. If the whole selection process, including Congress, is considered, then the second and fourth answers are also correct. Was Xerox trying to simulate the shortcomings of many multiple-choice questions, or does its staff need to study more American history?"—By George Weber in the *Bulletin* of the Council for Basic Education

Vice President Humphrey and Sen. Edmund Muskie chat before a TV spot during the recent campaign. Columnist Alexander notes that while liberals are trying to build up Muskie as presidential timber, he has several obstacles to face, including Sen. Ted Kennedy (D.-Mass.).

Has Muskie Reached His Ceiling?

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

It's not popular to be skeptical about Sen. Edmund Muskie, who came out of the national election with bells on. But then back a few months it was heresy to express agnosticism about the divinity of Sen. Eugene McCarthy, who is now a fallen angel to all except the most pointy-headed extremists of the Lunatic Left.

The domino theory isn't applicable here, but the law of gravity is. Clean Gene was flying high, when he attitudinized himself into a tail-spin and a crackup. Ed Muskie is up there on the inconstant winds of puff-job writing, and his elevation is aerodynamically unsound.

Post-election commentators have added prognostications to the puffing. The television tubes have predicted Muskie flight plans. I heard a broadcaster tip Muskie for assistant majority leader in the 91st Congress, for majority leader in the 92nd Congress and Democratic presidential nominee in 1972.

But to make these successive upsurges the Maine senator would need much more propulsion, and far less competition, than some of us think he's got. If Muskie's to become assistant floor leader (Majority Whip) in January, he would have to be chosen by the 58-member Senate Democratic Conference to replace Russell Long of Louisiana and also to bypass Robert Byrd of West Virginia, who is now Long's logical successor.

Russell Long, according to his friends, has "mused aloud" about the workload of being simultaneously Senate Finance Committee chairman and Majority Whip. Long was chosen Whip in 1965, defeating Monroney of Oklahoma and Pastore of Rhode Island in the Conference. It was a signal testament to the voluble Louisianan's popularity, since Pastore had been given a buildup as keynoter of the 1964 convention which nominated the Johnson-Humphrey ticket. There's no doubt that Long can keep the job as long as he wants it, and that he'd prefer Bob Byrd to succeed him.

Bob Byrd moved into succession at the January 1967 opening of the 90th Congress. The Democratic senators chose him secretary of the Conference by 35 votes to 28 votes for Clark of Pennsylvania. But an early aspirant for the job was Ed Muskie. He evidently didn't find much encouragement, and he withdrew to support a loser in Joe Clark. Conference voting is held in executive session without any announced rollcall, but it's an open secret that the liberals voted for Clark and the conservative-moderates voted for Byrd.

The recent election cost the Democrats five seats, four held by liberals who presumably voted against Byrd. They are Clark, Monroney, Hayden and Morse. This reduction, however, is offset by the election of a certified left-leaner, Cranston of California, and possibly by the unrated Gravel of Alaska. But Byrd would seem to have a net gain of at least two Conference votes if it comes to a contest with Muskie for the post of Majority Whip.

Unless Mike Mansfield should retire as senator or the Majority Leader in 1970 (not an inkling of evidence on either), there isn't the remotest chance of Muskie or anyone else moving up to the front seat. The next presidential nomination is too far off to discern, but somebody resembling Ted Kennedy is blocking that horizon.

Muskie, although a refreshing new face to the general public in the recent campaign, actually belongs to the old regime on Capitol Hill. Lyndon Johnson campaigned for him and gave him his choice of Senate committee appointments. But LBJ also extracted from Muskie the harmful service of being defender of the TFX program and the Billy Sol Estes fiasco, two lasting sets of scar-tissue on any public figure.

Muskie has climbed in popular esteem, but from now on he bumps into the obstacles that make up a man's political ceiling.

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STUNNING CONCLUSION—"A U.S. Senate subcommittee on employment, headed by Sen. Joseph Clark (D.-Pa.), has issued a 100-page report on the interrelated problems of employment, manpower and poverty. The subcommittee's study involved 18 months of hearings and interviews; 400 witnesses testified before the solons, and the subcommittee staff interviewed more than 1,000 persons. The main conclusions after all this work were that the federal welfare program is a failure and that 'employment should be the principle means' of eliminating poverty."—From the Cincinnati *Enquirer*

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Despite Nixon's Wishes

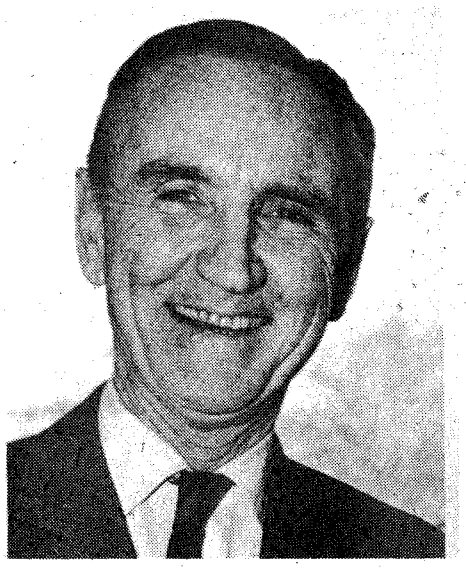
Mansfield Plans January Push for Non-Proliferation Treaty

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

In a move which could precipitate the Nixon Administration's first congressional battle, Senate Democratic leaders are planning to seek approval of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty as soon as Congress reconvenes.

The schedule has been set by Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield. He has sent a request for quick action to top-ranking members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Chairman J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) and Senators John J. Sparkman (D.-Ala.) and George D. Aiken (R.-Vt.).

Mansfield's schedule calls for short hearings and quick reapproval by the Foreign Relations Committee which recommended ratification as recently as late September. That would set the stage for floor action on the treaty while other legislation was being readied for Senate floor consideration.



Majority Leader Mike Mansfield wants to second-guess the President-elect by holding quick hearings on the non-proliferation treaty.

Signed by more than 80 nations, the non-proliferation treaty prohibits nuclear powers from transferring nuclear weapons and pledges non-nuclear nations not to receive or develop them. During the campaign President-elect Nixon said he favors ratification of the treaty eventually.

However, Nixon took the position that the treaty should not be ratified at a time when the Soviet Union had just violated its treaty with Czechoslovakia, by its invasion there, and when the Russians were thus ignoring their United Nations commitments. He favored delay until the situation in Europe is "more normalized."

In pressing for quick Senate approval for the treaty, Mansfield says he is "just taking Mr. Nixon at his word"—his word that he favors ratification.

There is reason to believe that quick ratification is not the word which the new President will give on the treaty after he assumes office on January 20. During the campaign Nixon outlined a detente diplomacy based on a series of tough-talking summit meetings with Kremlin leaders.

The non-proliferation treaty, unratified and awaiting Senate approval, would be a bargaining point for Nixon Administration diplomats in such summit talks with the Russians. One of Nixon's campaign objections to quick treaty approval was that it would seem to indicate approval of the Russian move into Czechoslovakia, and that would not be a proper prelude at all for Nixon summitry.

Under Mansfield's schedule, the treaty could win Senate approval before Nixon is ready for any such foreign policy initiative. It could, in theory at least, be ratified before Nixon has his new foreign policy team on the job and fully ready for business.

In fact, however, there may be some roadblocks ahead for Mansfield's speedup and, while the roadblocks are not of Nixon's making, he can certainly use them, and even magnify them, if he wishes to do so.

Approval of the treaty was *not* unanimous when the Senate Foreign Relations Committee considered it in September. Five senators signed a minority report urging delay and three of them are to be members of the committee again when Congress reconvenes.

In addition, there was some cloakroom talk, before Congress adjourned, that the Senate Armed Services Committee might want to take a look at the terms of the non-proliferation treaty. Nixon's South Carolina ally, Sen. Strom Thurmond, is a member of that committee and has strongly opposed the treaty.

When the non-proliferation treaty does get consideration in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy (D.-Minn.) will be one of the committee members on hand to vote approval.

For a while it appeared that McCarthy might be bumped from the prestigious committee to make room for new Republicans. Senate committee ratios will have to be changed to provide seats for a net gain of five GOP senators, and McCarthy was low man on the committee's Democratic totem pole.

Gene was saved, however, by the Election Day defeat of two of his equally dovish Democratic colleagues, Senators Wayne Morse of Oregon and Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania. Even if the committee is reduced in size—from 19 members to 17—as long urged by Chairman Fulbright—it now appears that no Democrats will be bumped at all.

* * *

While Jacqueline Onassis has been enjoying her honeymoon cruise through the fabled isles of Greece, some of Washington's nosey social historians have been studying up on the former First Lady's Croesus-rich husband.

One of the documents, unearthed in this jet-set research, is a Senate report titled "Sale of Government-Owned Surplus Tanker Vessels." It was published in 1952 by the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, now known as the McClellan committee after Chairman John L. McClellan (D.-Ark.).

By all rights the musty old document should be a reporter's dream in this stormy late autumn of 1968. In its time-worn text it links the now magic names of Aristotle Onassis, Hubert Humphrey and Richard M. Nixon.

Actually, however, the old report has some of the aroma of a late-late movie on television. Today's stars appear only briefly and are barely recognizable in the supporting roles which they played in those not-so-far-gone days.

From the report, there emerges a rather seamy picture of some free-wheeling Washington operators, including an ex-congressman named Joseph E. Casey, and a number of fast-back schemes keyed to the disposal of surplus tankers built by the government during World War II.

Star of the subcommittee's 1952 hearings (if there was a star) was a lady ship-broker, Mrs. Olga Konow, who was known as "Oil Boat Olga" and also basked, through a couple of days of headlines, in the sobriquet, "The Blonde Viking."

Nixon and Humphrey? Both were members of the subcommittee in 1952. Both signed the unanimous report which urged the Department of Justice to take prompt action on the basis of alleged violations of federal maritime laws.

Aristotle S. Onassis, this season's happy bridegroom, did not testify in the subcommittee's month-long hearings. His role in one of the tanker deals was scarcely mentioned, and in that respect he was eclipsed by his Greek shipping rival, Stavros S. Niarchos.

Onassis figured in the committee's formal report, however, in association with two cousins, Nicholas and Constantine Konialidis, who had been unable to purchase surplus ships in 1948 because they were not U.S. citizens.

The subcommittee reported that a Panamanian firm, owned by Onassis and his cousins, did acquire an interest in a U.S. firm—United States Petroleum Carriers, Inc.—soon after that firm was organized and, with Casey's help, allotted four surplus U.S. tankers of the T-2 type.

Among Aristotle Onassis' early business deals was an oil tanker operation which circumvented U.S. shipping laws.

Within six months, according to the report, Onassis and his cousins had acquired a 49 per cent interest in the supposedly U.S.-owned corporation, and a further 3 per cent interest had been acquired by three U.S. citizens who were close business associates of Onassis.

"It seems clear to the subcommittee that United States Petroleum Carriers was organized as a device to obtain tanker vessels from the Maritime Commission, and following the allocation of four vessels to the corporation, the citizen stockholders who had made it possible for the corporation to qualify as a citizen relinquished their stock interest and, with it, the control of the four tankers," the subcommittee reported.

"The subcommittee is convinced that United States Petroleum Carriers, Inc. . . .was financed largely with foreign capital and was set up for the obvious purpose of evading the citizen requirements in the Merchant Ship Sales Act," the report said.

In time the Justice Department took the subcommittee's hint and began court actions against some of the individuals involved in the tanker deals. Onassis was among those charged under the laws regulating the sale of surplus ships.

After extensive litigation involving his tanker operations, Onassis settled the case with a $7-million payment.

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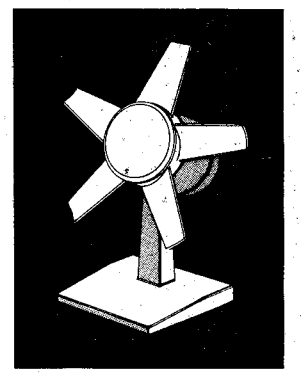

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The Million-Dollar Memoir

Bobby Kennedy's account of the Cuban missile crisis

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

When *McCall's* magazine paid a million dollars for Robert Kennedy's memoir of the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, we thought this document would be the utlimate revelation. It isn't. It adds little to what others involved in the White House crisis had already revealed.

This account was dictated by Robert Kennedy in the fall of 1967 and edited for publication by Theodore Sorensen after Kennedy's death. It is a review written five years after the event from notes made at the time and from memory. It is a rationalization of the event, a justification of the Kennedy part in the crisis. It is a dramatization in which President Kennedy appears as the hero triumphing over all obstacles and Robert as his chief counsellor.

The memoir is important for this subjective quality. It portrays the Kennedys as they saw themselves.

In justifying the President's actions, Robert Kennedy reveals the values which he, and presumably the President, held high. In analyzing these values, we can bring history to an assessment of the Kennedy role. It is in this character that *Thirteen Days* illuminates history.

The October missile crisis shocked an Administration which had refused to believe Premier Khrushchev would introduce offensive missiles into Cuba. In the ensuing crisis, Robert Kennedy saw his brother, the President, receive a wide range of conflicting ideas and suggestions on the course which the United States should take.

John Kennedy declared a quarantine of offensive weapons shipments into Cuba and demanded removal of Soviet offensive weapons already in the country. He mobilized U.S. military forces in support of the quarantine, and for an invasion of Cuba if that should become necessary.

But then the President acted with great restraint to avoid a confrontation with the Soviet Union. Our blockading forces boarded only one vessel, a Lebanese ship under Soviet charter, and passed 55 other vessels through the screen without inspection. In consideration of a Soviet promise to withdraw offensive missiles from Cuba, President Kennedy agreed not to invade Cuba and offered his good offices to obtain the adherence of other American states to the pledge. Thus the great crisis was resolved without resort to the nuclear war which the Kennedys feared.

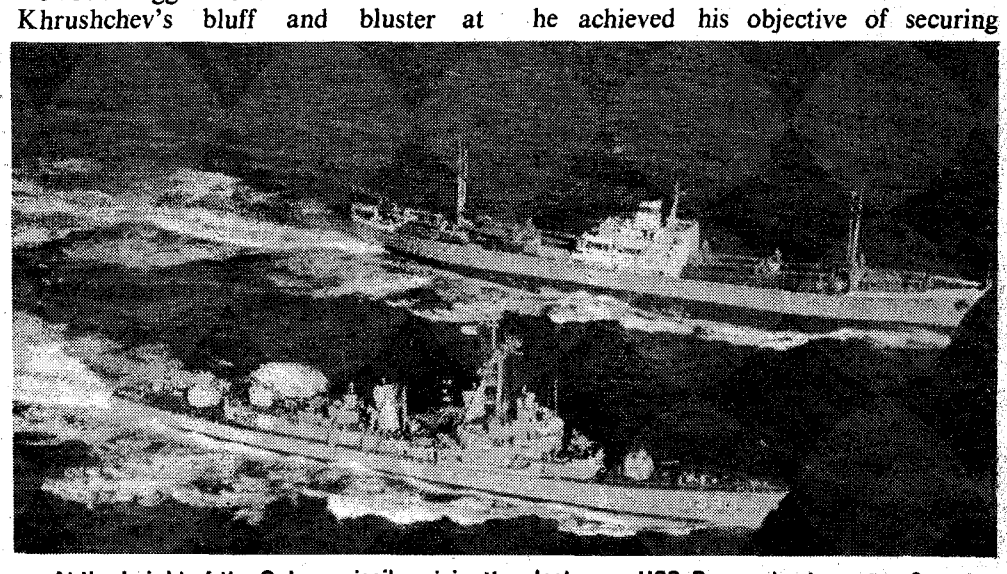
If you knew only this Kennedy version of the event, you would indeed be impressed by the President's wisdom and the stupidity of his military advisers (except Gen. Maxwell Taylor). You might be persuaded that John Kennedy had averted nuclear war.

But if you know the true course of events during the confrontation, you will come to a very different conclusion.

The relevant facts are detailed in Dr. Mario Lazo's scholarly study of the Communist conquest of Cuba entitled *Dagger in the Heart* (Funk & Wagnalls, $5.95). As Dr. Lazo points out, the United States in 1962 had overwhelming superiority in nuclear missiles; the disparity of power was so great as to make the prospect of Soviet resort to nuclear warfare fantastic. The Kennedy feeling that the United States stood on the brink of nuclear war—that the survival of civilization was at stake—was sheer illusion induced by idle and unreasoning fear.

It was preposterous to suppose that the Soviet leaders would risk the destruction of the Soviet Union in order to keep missiles in Cuba. Yet that was the working hypothesis of the Kennedy inner circle.

How did the Kennedy brothers come to so irrational an assessment of the Soviet aggression? Had Premier Khrushchev's bluff and bluster at



At the height of the Cuban missile crisis, the destroyer USS Barry checks out a Soviet freighter allegedly removing the nuclear missiles from Castroland.

Vienna in 1961 so deranged the judgment of President Kennedy? Had his own inner circle of intellectuals, profoundly ignorant about war, communicated their own panic to the President? Why did Gen. Taylor fail to bring a more mature judgment to bear?

If you understand the operation of military forces, you know that the President had only to say what he wanted done, and then retire to his study. Instead, he and Robert Kennedy and Robert McNamara monitored every move of the blockading forces. This was the McNamara system.

In establishing his regime in the Defense Department, Secretary McNamara had acted on the assumption that any small confrontation with the Communist powers might escalate to nuclear war. Since only the President should make the decision for nuclear war, it followed that he must control every move of military confrontation from its inception. Mr. McNamara set up the communications to enable the President to do so.

In consequence, President Kennedy acted in the missile confrontation more like a squad leader than the Commander in Chief of the world's most powerful military forces. His role had been predetermined by a fearful and ignorant civilian staff.

In this role, President Kennedy again exhibited the fear and indecision which had been so disastrous at the Bay of Pigs. He no sooner assumed a position than he began to retreat from it. Mrs. Lazo heard the brave-sounding quarantine speech in Madrid and appraised it correctly: "*Palabras,*" she said. "*Nada más*—you will see."

We can be sure that Premier Khrushchev understood the difference between words and action. When John Kennedy followed the quarantine speech with anxious contact to assure Soviet leaders that the United States did not want nuclear war, the state of his mind was all too evident. Mr. Khrushchev promptly resumed the offensive.

Because President Kennedy had failed to enforce the Monroe Doctrine, Premier Khrushchev had been able to introduce 25,000 Soviet soldiers into Cuba before the missile crisis. His objective was to protect the Castro regime from revolt in the Cuban army. Such counter-revolution against Communist tyranny is the chief danger to new Communist states.

Premier Khrushchev has boasted that he achieved his objective of securing the Castro regime when President Kennedy guaranteed Cuba against invasion and did not require the removal of Soviet troops. In concentrating on the removal of offensive missiles, the Kennedys had misjudged the real purpose of the Soviet aggression.

In 1967 Robert Kennedy was still mystified by the open manner in which the Soviet forces had built the missile sites. Sophisticated professionals who wanted to keep the work secret could have made some attempt at camouflage. It seemed that the Soviet leaders wanted the missile sites to be photographed.

Of course, this is what you do with decoys. If the real missiles were sited in caves or otherwise concealed, as Cuban refugees have reported, the known sites may have been designed to draw U.S. fire if we did make an air strike to prevent their activation.

Robert Kennedy conveniently ended his memoir with the Soviet agreement to remove the missiles, and with some personal philosophy about conflict between nations. He did not tell how the Soviet Union reneged on its commitment while holding the United States to full performance: Fidel Castro refused to allow on-site inspection, Anastas Mikoyan failed to move the Cuban dictator, President Kennedy agreed to aerial inspection of ships evacuating the missiles. Robert Kennedy did not comment on the preposterous fraud of Castro defying the United States and the Soviet Union.

In this memoir, Robert Kennedy stressed heavily the moral obligation of the President to avoid nuclear war. "He wanted to make sure that he had done everything in his power, everything conceivable, to prevent such a catastrophe. Every opportunity was to be given to the Russians to find a peaceful settlement which would not diminish their national security or be a public humiliation."

What corruption of reason made the Kennedys so solicitous for the undiminished security of the Soviet Union when Soviet leaders were attacking on many fronts to diminish our security? What error of judgment led them to believe that the Butcher of Budapest cared about world opinion? The Kennedys were living in a world of fancy conjured up by their own fears.

Robert Kennedy also expressed in this memoir his disdain for our military leaders (except Gen. Taylor). His resentment is so patent that his account of their participation is untrustworthy. No doubt the military leaders were so appalled by the brash ignorance of Robert Kennedy that their normal polite reserve was severely tried. He apparently sensed and resented their rejection of his methods and views.

The Kennedy brothers were greatly influenced by the secretary of defense. Dr. Lazo writes that Robert McNamara was the dove of doves. McNamara wanted to allow the Soviet construction of missiles in Cuba without protest by the United States. He opposed even the weak quarantine which President Kennedy finally adopted. This is the man whom the Kennedys saw as their knight in the Pentagon restraining the hunger of our military leaders for war.

These Kennedy views were fed by their own abysmal ignorance of Soviet character and purpose. They had surrounded themselves with pedants and theoreticians deficient in practical experience.

The Kennedys themselves had never borne any executive responsibility before Jack was elected to the presidency. Faced with responsibility for decision-making, they turned not to the hard-headed, experienced men who had known the reality of conflict but to their own congenial associates from the world of make-believe. They embraced fanciful schemes for coexistence, convergence, disarmament and peace.

Premier Khrushchev exploited his opportunity, scaring the Kennedy neophytes with allusions to nuclear war, accusing them of piracy, turning his own position of hopeless weakness to a great victory through sheer gall.

As an account of the missile crisis, the Kennedy memoir is worthless. Turn rather to Dr. Lazo's searching study of the real course of events. Dr. Lazo confesses his own bias for Cuba and the United States, but he achieves a high order of objectivity because he is an honest man.

As a revelation of the Kennedy performance in time of crisis, the memoir becomes a significant confirmation of other data. The million dollars is also important.

McCall's could pay that amount for a minor manuscript because the American people are caught up in the very illusion which made the Kennedys putty in the hands of Khrushchev. The march of Soviet power continues because the United States is incapable of opposing Soviet power. The Kennedys only exploited and heightened the mood of self-immolation which American arts and letters had evoked in the American people. In this gambit to dramatize the Kennedy folly as supreme wisdom, *McCall's* is confident that the public will pay and pay and pay.

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War, of course, has always created refugees. But, says author Epstein, it is not necessary to force innocent people to live under tyranny.

Will 'Forced Repatriation' Be an Issue in Viet Nam?

By JULIUS EPSTEIN

The American people hope that after Jan. 20, 1969, Richard Nixon will suceed in ending the Viet Nam war, the most unpopular in American history, in an honorable way. "Honorable" would only be a peace which would not jeopardize the Republic of South Viet Nam, would not force upon her a "coalition government" with the Communists, undesired by the vast majority of the people.

An "honorable" peace would be a peace which would give every prisoner of war in the hands of South Viet Nam the right to decide for himself whether he wants to be returned to Ho Chi Minh's paradise or not. "Voluntary repatriation only!"—that must be the slogan under which the United States will have to approach any serious negotiations with the north.

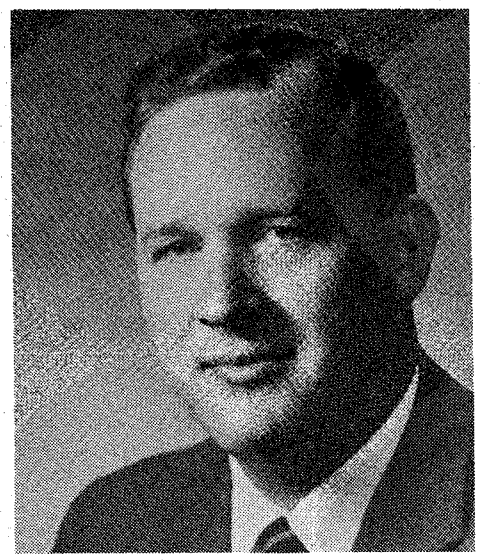
The Korean War was prolonged for more than one year because we were decided under no circumstances to repatriate North Korean and Chinese prisoners of war against their own free will.

At that time—1952—we had obviously learned our lesson from World War II when we had forcibly repatriated more than two million Soviet nationals to Stalin's vindictive regime. About 900,000 of these Soviet nationals—not only Russians—belonged to the "Russian Liberation Army" (ROA), formed under the Soviet Gen. Andrei Andreevich Vlasov, hero of the Soviet Union, bearer of the orders of Lenin and the Red Flag who was captured by the Germans after the battle of Wolchow in the defense of Leningrad. It was Vlasov who had defeated the Germans before Moscow.

Vlasov, who believed in the early promises of Lenin, promises of freedom, bread and peace and in his fraudulent slogan, "All Land to the Peasants," had developed a deep-seated hatred against Stalin and his tyrannical regime. A considerable part of Soviet prisoners of war as well as millions of so-called *Ostarbeiter*, *Hiwis* ("Volunteer Helpers") and other volunteers who preferred helping the Germans to certain death by starvation or execution in their POW camps wanted to join Vlasov's Liberation Army because they wanted to destroy Stalin and the Liberation Army was supposed to fight only in the East against Stalin.

Gen. Vlasov, his generals and about 900,000 of his followers were forcibly repatriated to the USSR. Vlasov and his generals were "tried" in secrecy, sentenced to death and hanged in Moscow. The 900,000 soldiers of the Vlasov movement were sent to various Siberian slave labor camps.

Ten years later—in 1955—Khrushchev granted them an amnesty and *Pravda*



Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio) has proposed an investigation of the way many POWs and refugees were sent back behind the Iron Curtain against their will.

made political hay out of this fact. It wrote: "Now, everything is forgotten and forgiven. But you will never forget the Americans and the British who drove you at the points of their bayonets and machine guns on the trucks and trains which returned you to the Soviet Union."

In 1952 we did not want to repeat this crime of forced repatriation. On Oct. 24, 1952, our secretary of state, Dean Acheson, addressed Committee I (Political and Security) of the U.N. General Assembly. Dealing with the Geneva Convention of 1949 in respect to forced repatriation, Acheson said:

"Is there anything in the convention which would lead one to believe that a prisoner of war must be forced at the end of a bayonet, fighting, perhaps dying to go back when he does not want to go? Is there anything in the treaty? I assure you there is not. You will search the treaty in vain for any such provision."

In 1945 there was, of course, the Geneva Convention of 1929 in force. But the articles concerning repatriation after a war are identical in both the 1929 and the 1949 convention. What Dean Acheson said about the inadmissibility of forced repatriation in Korea is equally valid for Europe in 1945. If forced repatriation was a crime in 1952, it was a crime in 1945.

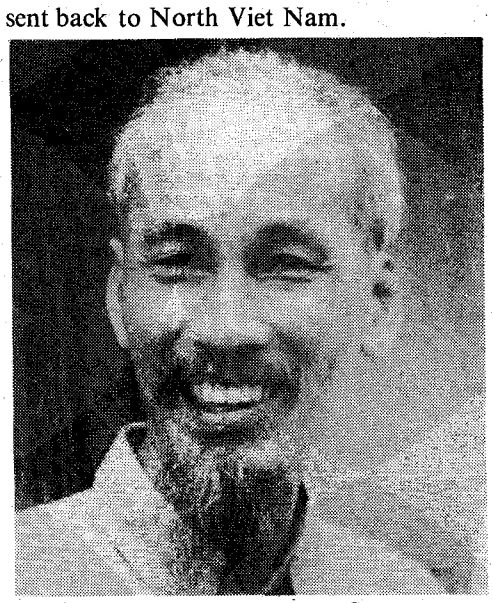
One would assume that we will certainly never again lend a hand to any repetition of that crime in 1968-69. But one cannot be sure.

That this is not only my own opinion can be seen by Rep. John M. Ashbrook's (R.-Ohio) remarks in the *Congressional Record* July 3, 1968, in which he said:

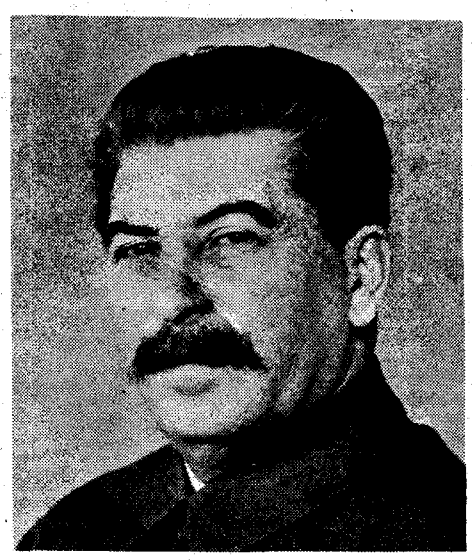
"Although this issue of forced repatriation took place over 20 years ago, it is still an issue which has pertinence today.

"It will be remembered that the Communists wanted the prisoners of war captured by the Allied forces in the Korean War returned to North Korea and Red China. When given the chance to make their choice, many thousands elected not to return to their Communist homelands.

"This issue might well be subject of debate during the present Viet Nam war. Ho Chi Minh could demand that POWs from North Viet Nam now in the hands of the South Vietnamese be sent back to North Viet Nam.



Should Ho Chi Minh demand the return of North Vietnamese POWs, their fate could well parallel that of the East European DPs.



Thanks in part to the forced return of anti-Soviets to Russia, Stalin was able to consolidate his hold on Red-conquered territory.

"The one sure way to insure that there will never be a repetition of the tragedy of World War II is to have a complete airing of the scandalous policy pursued by the United States and Britain at that time. An investigation by a congressional committee publicizing this black mark in our foreign policy at that time would guarantee that our diplomats, if only from a selfish viewpoint, would shy away from being party to a future forced repatriation scandal. But if they can refer to the Yalta cover-up and the successful shielding over these many years of those responsible, some of them might be tempted to try this policy again."

Congressman Ashbrook's proposal of a congressional investigation is an excellent one. It would not only clarify the problem for the historian to whom many details are still in the dark because our government feels it has still to maintain "Top Secret" classification of all the pertaining documents—it would also reinforce the backbones of our diplomats who will undoubtedly encompass this problem when the negotiations with Ho Chi Minh will ever get down to brass tacks.

In 1955 I drafted a House Resolution, asking for the creation of a Select House Committee to investigate forced repatriation "past and present." It was three times dropped into the hopper of the House by Rep. Albert H. Bosch of New York. It was three times killed by the House Committee on Rules. But it still makes sense.

I wish Rep. Ashbrook more luck with his suggestion.

Mr. Epstein is a Research Assistant at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University. He is presently suing the U.S. Army and its secretary, Stanley Resor, under the Freedom of Information Act, to force the Army to make public historical documents in its archives which pertain to the forcible repatriation of Soviet nationals after World War II. Despite the fact that no valid security considerations have been presented, the Army still insists the repatriation documents are "properly" classified "Top Secret."

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Bloody Poverty Fight

Militants Terrify Poor

By VICTOR RIESEL

As confidential FBI reports of "political" executions, assassination conspiracies and black-jacketed terrorism seep into the multi-billion-dollar anti-poverty headquarters here in Washington, the puzzlement is: how to get hundreds of millions of dollars to the deserving poor without the money sticking to trigger-happy, karate-trained, newly arrived militants?

Explosions in the San Francisco Bay area, lethal bullets in Boston, a conspiracy to murder black leaders Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young, an order for the riddling of a PRIDE official here, have black community moderates understandably jittery.

The Office of Economic Opportunity, official euphemism for the anti-poverty national command post, is priming the pump. The gold flows. It gets into the ghettos. But not all of it.

Any moderate, and there are many, who talks out about "the take," is howled down (if he's lucky enough not to be hit harder) as an Uncle Tom. This is on the community and street level, at which $1.948 billion will be aimed this new fiscal year.

At the top, there seems to be little the OEO can do. It cannot cut off funds from the Harlems, Houghs and Wattses. And yet the Administration has not given it the money and manpower it needs to monitor and audit the billions on a regular and efficient basis.

There are 1,018 CAAs (Community Action Agencies) across the land. Their budget, according to figures made available (and getting them is much like an animated discussion with the Sphinx), is $853,989,399. These dollars are funeled through 8,350 grants to thousands of regional, municipal, borough, neighborhood and street corporations.

The theory is that these dollars should get to the poor and that the poor should "participate" in the decision making. For this, they have been given the right to vote for some of the "corporate" directors.

Trouble is, the poor just don't participate. The new local machines do. And machines are machines, regardless of race, color or creed. They're fueled by greed a good deal of the time.

Recently I talked with the gracious—and attractive—Josephine Nieves. This lady directs OEO's Northeast Regional Office. She asserted that about 2 per cent of the poor—at most 3 per cent—vote for directors of the money-funneling units.

In Los Angeles the theoretical decision makers are even fewer. Thus, anywhere from 95 to 98 per cent of the poor just aren't getting into their own crusade. Nor are they truly represented on the local Community Action Agency Boards.

Furthermore, Miss Nieves, delightfully constrained by honesty, told me that addresses of the poor who do come out to vote are not checked. They may be floaters, itinerants, crusaders, or just passersby. They may be the faithful brought out by the militants.

Whoever they are, there is no proof of residence required. So, as in many districts, two or three hundred persons cast ballots for as many as 18,000 families.

And thus "the people's choice" make the final decisions on the final dollars.

An irritated OEO spokesman, who most decidedly will not vote for me as the most popular boy in his hair, tells me the nation should realize "we are not a gigantic bureaucracy; one of the myths about the OEO is that we have a powerful structure, when all we have is a staff of 2,800."

Of these, I learn from other sources, just 35 are inspectors. They work on an annual budget of less than a million dollars. They have shut down 10 CAAs for irregularities—meaning embezzlement and inefficiency.

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LEFTISTS' OMISSION—"Students are in the forefront of the Czechoslovakian resistance movement to the Soviet Union takeover. Now is the time, one would think, for all good student revolutionaries in America, France and Britain, in particular, to come to the aid, at least with moral support, of their Czech contemporaries. But we have yet to hear of any of these leftist student organizations staging even so much as one little demonstration in support of the oppressed Czech people. They are much too busy, it seems, protesting because the people of South Viet Nam are reluctant to have their lives turned over to the leftists' hero, Ho Chi Minh."—From the Milwaukee *Sentinel*

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TWO THINGS TO REMEMBER—"As the Viet Nam war situation takes a turn in a direction that is not quite predictable, there are two points that the American people might consider—and keep on considering—to maintain a proper perspective. One involved Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, who arrived in Paris to represent the Communist Viet Cong guerrilla terrorists at the 'peace' talks. Her first words were a declaration of intent to continue the Red guerrilla warfare to force the United States out of South Viet Nam and permit the Communists to take over. The other involved an incident in Korea, some distance from Viet Nam. A 'truce' has been in effect there for some 15 years. But in new clashes on November 4, 11 North Korean Communists were killed, adding to a long list of Reds, anti-Red South Koreans and Americans who have died following an agreement that did not solve. Remembering these two points and guarding against them could save us much misery in years to come."—From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

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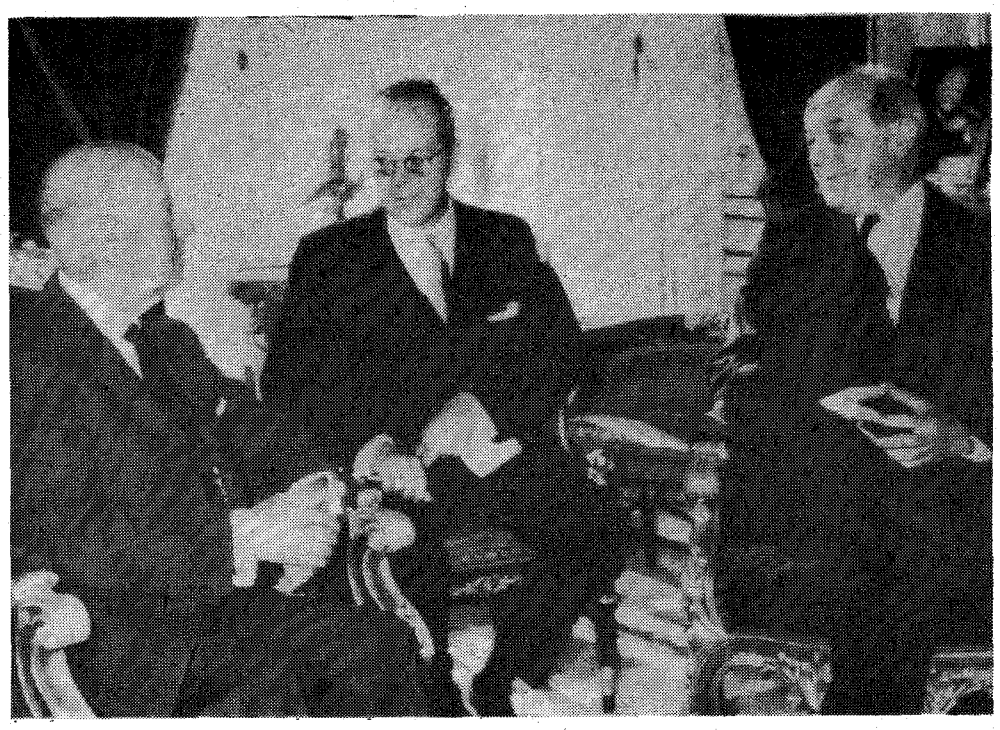

Spain's longtime chieftain, Francisco Franco, and Secretary of State Dean Rusk conferred last week in Madrid; presumably the subject of U.S. bases in that country was discussed. In the center is an interpreter.

U.S. Defenses Will Suffer If Bases in Spain Are Lost

By WALTER TROHAN

In the tumult and shouting of the presidential campaign, the probable loss of American naval and air bases in Spain passed all but unnoticed. Yet this is a matter of concern to every American and every citizen of nations still free from Communist domination.

When the matter was mentioned it was made to appear that the main reason was military aid. While reduced American aid to Spain is a factor, a more important matter is that Spain wants a mutual security treaty promising immediate aid to Spain in the event of attack by a common enemy. Another factor is a status of forces agreement, such as we have wherever American servicemen are stationed elsewhere in the world.

Last September 28, after days of fruitless negotiations, Spain invoked the right to renounce the agreement providing for American bases on Spanish soil. The invocation provides six months for working out compromises. If these fail, the United States must remove all equipment and installations from Spain.

These bases are of vital importance to American defense, especially since Russia has moved into the Mediterranean. The American naval base at Rota, which is not far from Palos, from which Christopher Columbus sailed to discover the New World, is as important to the American Mediterranean fleet as Gibraltar was in Britain's days of naval greatness.

Unfortunately, the question is clouded by political considerations. The cold fact is that the so-called American liberals have never forgiven Generalissimo Francisco Franco for winning the civil war, which was something of a rehearsal for World War II.

Franco's acceptance of help from Nazi Germany and fascist Italy has condemned him for all time in so-called liberal circles. The fact that Russia aided the so-called Republican forces, and that Communists dominated the conduct of the war against Franco, is forgotten or not mentioned.

The truth is that if Franco had not won, the Communists would control Spain and most of continental Europe today. That would include Gibraltar, whose return Spain is demanding of Britain.

Spain has demanded United States military aid of about $700 million in return for continuance of the bases. The Spanish argument, which seems to have considerable merit, is that Spain will be a prime target in any clash between Russia and America because of the bases. They want adequate arms for self-defense, and they want the United States to agree to come to the aid of Spain if it is attacked.

During the first decade of the base agreement of 1953, Spain received about $101 million in military aid, exclusive of economic assistance. In the past five years military aid has averaged about $20 million a year.

If the American bases are evacuated, Spain will undoubtedly move closer to Russia and the United States will suffer in the Mediterranean and Europe. The Johnson Administration has shown little interest in saving the 1953 treaty and the bases.

It will be interesting to see if the new Administration, which takes over in January, will save the bases. John Davis Lodge, former ambassador to Spain, who is a staunch advocate of the bases, is high in the favor of Richard M. Nixon.

(1968, Chicago Tribune-N.Y. News Syndicate)

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BAEZ INCHING RIGHTWARD?—Could that really be Joan Baez, that notorious left-wing folksinger, saying those things? It sure was the very same Miss Baez, with a seemingly more moderate outlook on the world. Student campus demonstrations, said Miss Baez, are "downright silly" and "irrelevant." The demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago were "really filthy," where some "bright organizers took young kids and pushed them, knowing they would get their heads cracked" for nothing. Disavowing Negro militants, Miss Baez charged that the gun-toting Black Panthers "are getting away with murder." The dark-haired folksinger still believes, however, that young men should actively resist being drafted; that's "the only 'in' thing," she says.

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Rusk Behind Ban

LBJ Places Curb on Spying on Soviets

By PAUL SCOTT

President Johnson has placed tight restrictions on U.S. intelligence-gathering operations covering the Soviet Union.

Since late October all covert intelligence operations in Eastern Europe designed to keep check on Soviet troop movements have been temporarily suspended.

The strange suspension order, which is causing alarm among U.S. intelligence authorities, was requested by Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

Reason given for the curb was that Rusk doesn't want the Central Intelligence Agency or the Defense Intelligence Agency "rocking the boat" while he carries on intense secret negotiations with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko.

Rusk and Gromyko have met privately in New York and Washington seven times since the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia to discuss what the State Department describes as "unspecified bilateral issues between the Soviet Union and the U.S."

While no details of these talks have been made public, Administration insiders say the discussions have ranged from new Soviet-U.S. disarmament proposals to a possible Johnson-Kosygin meeting in Moscow.

Of the restrictions, the most disturbing to the U.S. military is the President's halt ban against flying U.S. reconnaissance flights over Eastern Europe.

Since the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, U.S. intelligence officials have been seeking permission to make these flights.

They want to check out West German reports that the number of battle-ready Soviet Army divisions stationed west of the Vistula River in Poland now stands at 42—or 15 more than before the Czech invasion.

"Under our new intelligence-gathering policies," stated one veteran intelligence officer, "we are treating Russia almost like one of our allies and not the enemy. The way Rusk is acting, you would never believe the Russians have upset the balance of power in Central Europe.

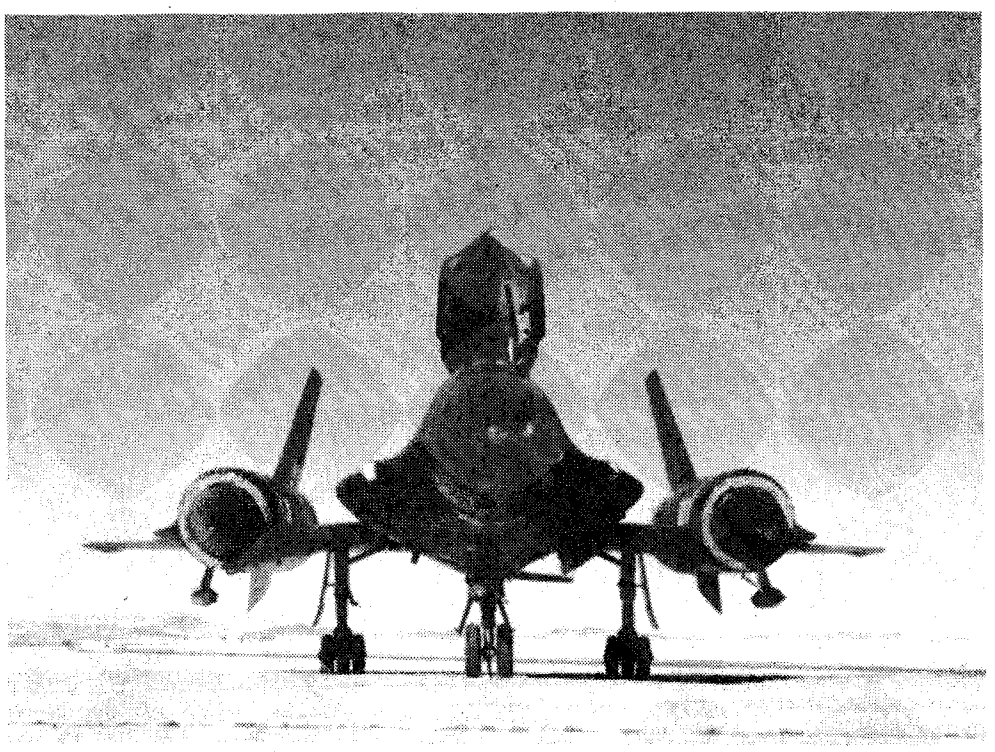
"How can Rusk justify further disarmament talks with the Russians, if the CIA keeps circulating reports showing the tremendous advantage in modern arms that the Soviets have gained over U.S. and NATO forces in Europe?"

In unsuccessfully opposing the intelligence-gathering curbs, CIA Director Richard Helms has argued that the U.S. should be stepping up rather than cutting back on its operations during the crucial period when the nation is changing administrations.

For instance, the Warsaw Pact defense ministers have for the past month been holding a series of extraordinary meetings as they did before the Czech invasion.

In addition to the defense ministers, the most recent meeting was attended by more than 100 of the highest-ranking military officers of Russia and the Soviet bloc nations.

Under normal circumstances the CIA would be ordered to go all-out to learn what happened at the meetings. Instead, Helms was told to leave the gathering of information about the meeting up to the State Department.



The super-secret F12 has been used on reconnaissance missions over North Viet Nam. A replacement for the U2, the plane has probably been used on other intelligence missions, but the LBJ Administration is trying to cut down on these.

The White House reported that Rusk would use diplomatic channels, including his talks with Gromyko, to determine the purposes of the Moscow meeting.

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Because of pre-election leaks of information to Richard Nixon on the secret U.S. negotiations with Hanoi, President Johnson has put new restrictions on the CIA's circulation of all intelligence reports governing North Viet Nam.

These reports, previously accessible to several hundred persons within the government, are now only being made available to a handful of State and Defense Department officials.

Reason for the restricted circulation, according to Administration insiders, is to keep them from falling into the hands of GOP congressional leaders.

The reports show a marked increase in North Vietnamese infiltration into South Viet Nam since the bombing halt was ordered on November 1.

A sharp decline in the rate of infiltration from August (25,000) to October (2,000) was the most important single reason Gen. Creighton Abrams, U.S. military commander in South Viet Nam, agreed to go along with the end to the bombing.

The increased flow of enemy troops into South Viet Nam since November 1 now raises the question of whether the Communists are reinforcing their troops in the south at a rate high enough to constitute a major danger to American forces.

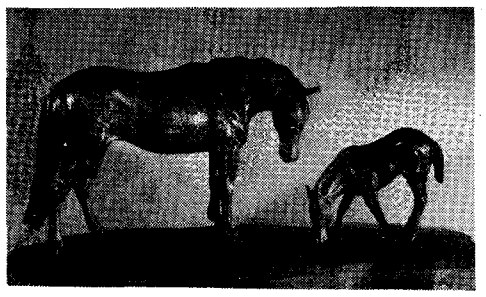
In deciding to issue his order to stop the bombing of North Viet Nam, President Johnson completely disregarded a CIA warning that South Viet Nam's President Nhuyen Van Thieu wouldn't go along with it.

The President relied instead on assurances from Rusk that Thieu had no other choice than to support the decision.

While Rusk counseled the President that Thieu would have to join the Paris peace talks on whatever terms the U.S. and Hanoi agreed to, the CIA pointed out that Thieu would never agree to official talks with the National Liberation Front—the political arm of the Viet Cong—as an independent delegation.

By following Rusk's advice, Johnson appears to have maneuvered both the U.S. and Saigon into a full-scale Communist political ambush, with the U.S. in the more dangerous position.

If Washington goes through with plans to sit with both Hanoi and the Viet Cong, but without Saigon, it will be a serious loss of face for the American government.



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Two Books Reviewed

The Conservatism of Ronald Reagan

By LEE EDWARDS

Conservatives frequently make unreasonable demands of their political heroes. They want them to be ideologically pure and yet get elected. And once elected, the heroes are expected to do everything they promised they would during the campaign without exception and without delay. Disappointments are inevitable.

For example, Barry Goldwater was the idol of millions of conservatives until the presidential campaign of 1964 when he was severely criticized by many for saying the very things for which he had been previously praised.

Or consider the treatment of the congressman or senator who has a 100 per cent ACA voting record and votes the

Here's the Rest of Him
By Kent Steffgen
Forsight Books, 1968
192 pages: $1.00

The Creative Society
By Ronald Reagan
Devin Adair, 1968
143 pages: $2.00

"wrong" way once or even (horrors!) twice. The cry goes up that the man is voting, not 98 per cent or 94 per cent "conservative," but 2 per cent or 6 per cent "Socialist and/or Communist."

And pity the conservative who is elected to an important administrative post, like governor of a large state. He *really* has problems—like trying to cope with the legacy of his predecessor's bureaucracy, debts, policies and commitments. If the conservative hero has not transformed the liberal swamp into a conservative paradise within the first 100 days, he must expect to be called, by some conservatives, a traitor to conservatism.

In short, conservatives expect their heroes to reconcile the frequently irreconcilable. When the heroes fail to do so completely and immediately, conservatives like Kent Steffgen write books like *Here's the Rest of Him*, his answer to Gov. Ronald Reagan's autobiography, *Where's the Rest of Me?*

Steffgen is upset, angry and outraged at what Ronald Reagan has done, not so much to California, where the polls show that 61 per cent of the people like Reagan's performance, but to what Steffgen defines as conservatism. He argues that Gov. Reagan has "betrayed" the conservative cause, has reneged on and even reversed his campaign promises and "may become the best salesman the Socialist movement ever had."

That's an extreme statement which I believe would be indignantly challenged by Hubert Horatio Humphrey, Joseph Clark, Michael Harrington and perhaps Lyndon Johnson.

It is so extreme, in fact, that in attempting to justify it in his slim 172-page volume, Steffgen is often obliged to distort the facts beyond recognition. Here are a few examples, beginning on the first page of his Introduction:

1. Ronald Reagan is described as a "three times president of the left-of-center Screen Actors Guild." **Fact:** Reagan was SAG president *six* times, succeeding such well-known "leftists" as George Murphy and Robert Montgomery. Furthermore, as most of us remember, it was the SAG under Ronald Reagan which helped stop the attempted Communist takeover of Hollywood right after World War II.

2. On page one of Chapter One, Steffgen writes that Reagan is "brand-new in politics." **Fact:** Ronald Reagan became active in politics about 20 years before he ran for governor of California in 1966. He supported Harry Truman in 1948 and then campaigned actively for the Republican presidential nominee in 1952, 1956, 1960 and 1964 as well as being approached by the California GOP to run for statewide office in 1962 and 1964. In addition, through his traveling and speaking for General Electric from 1954-1962, he became one of our most informed private citizens on public affairs.

3. On page three reference is made to a Reagan decision in March 1967 "to push a billion-dollar tax increase after promising none at all." **Fact:** In his inaugural address on Jan. 5, 1967, Gov. Reagan warned the people of California that the state was in serious financial shape with a $750-million deficit confronting it, and that he would turn to "additional sources of revenue . . . if it becomes clear that economies alone cannot balance the budget." Although subsequently Reagan was able to trim over $120 million from the budget, he had to raise taxes to put California's house in fiscal order—and did.

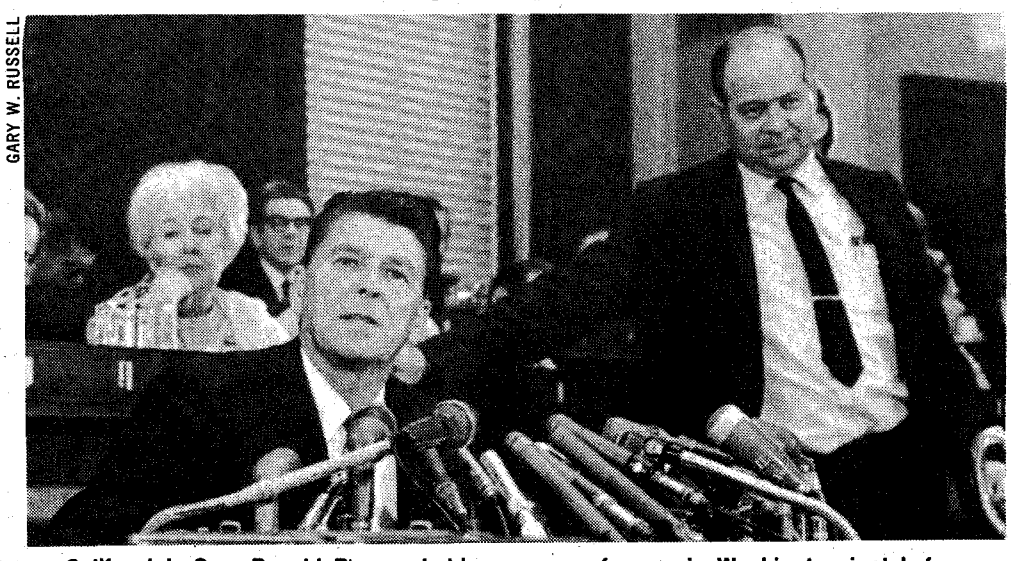
4. On page eight Steffgen charges that Reagan "wound up with an 18 per cent increase in the operating budget of his own governor's office" as contrasted with Pat Brown. **Fact:** comparing fiscal 1965-66 under Brown with fiscal 1967-68 under Reagan, we find that Reagan spent $1,369,992 in his own department while Brown spent $1,416,122—a *decrease* of 3¼ per cent. (These figures were adjusted to take into account salary increases set by the legislature, rental of office space and travel, but do *not* include any inflation factor.)

5. In his chapter, "The Property Tax Game," Steffgen asserts that "the total amount paid in property taxes in California every year is—hold on: $8 billion." **Fact:** according to the State Board of Equalization, the aggregate of property tax levies in fiscal 1967-68 was (hold on, Mr. Steffgen) a little over $4.1 billion.

6. According to Steffgen, "in 1967 [Reagan] used over half of that time touring the country on speaking and fund-raising events while 'not running' for President." **Fact:** Gov. Reagan spent 44 days out of state in 1967. Of that total, 17½ days fell on weekends which presumably can be spent as Reagan sees fit, while 19 days were devoted to fund-raising events for GOP state committees and candidates. That leaves a grand total of 7½ days when he was "not running" for President.

7. Steffgen asserts that the "Delano grape strikers in California (AFL-CIO) won moral support from Reagan and he did nothing to oppose their left-oriented leader Chavez." Gov. Reagan has sent telegrams to Vice President Humphrey, Gov. Dan Evans of Washington, Gov. Tom McCall of Oregon and Mayor Joseph Alioto of San Francisco which read in part: "Those conducting the boycott are falsifying information about agricultural labor conditions in California and are ignoring the desires of most grape pickers. The boycott is an attempt to compel employers to force farm workers to join the United Farm Workers against their wishes." (The National Right to Work Committee couldn't sum up the case against the strikers and Chavez any better.)

8. According to Steffgen, "the average annual spending under Brown was 10.1 per cent. Under Reagan, the average so far is 11.4 per cent." **Fact:** during Brown's last two budget years, spending in those areas over which the governor exercises direct control increased a total of 16.2 per cent, while in Reagan's first two years spending in those same areas increased a total of only 9.6 per cent—a decrease of 40 per cent. It is important to keep in mind that out of a total state budget of



GARY W. RUSSELL

California's Gov. Ronald Reagan held a news conference in Washington just before the Miami convention. Although the former actor is a national political figure, his role as California's chief executive bears watching as well. At right is his former communications director, Lyn Nofziger.

$5 or $6 billion, only a comparatively small part—about $600 million—is directly controlled by the governor. The larger part is composed of activities established by statute, supported by public bonds or fees and administered by groups not responsible to the governor. No one, not even Kent Steffgen, can disturb funds set aside for highway construction, water projects, or school buildings without changing the state laws and that demands concerted action by the state assembly (which has been controlled by the Democrats) as well as the governor.

Steffgen is also fond of the most amazing irrelevancies and out-of-context quotations. The fact that Reagan was once a member of Americans for Democratic Action and the United World Federalists is no secret—he admits it in his autobiography. Why isn't Kent Steffgen similarly candid about his own former position as a California official for the White Citizens Council?

According to Steffgen, Lt. Gov. Bob Finch "had more to do with Reagan's sweeping victory [in 1966] than anyone." In point of fact, polls showed Finch 15 per cent behind his opponent as the final month of campaigning began. Reagan and his advisers were so concerned they scheduled Reagan and Finch together day and night in the last three weeks and diverted $300,000 to TV spots and billboards promoting the Reagan-Finch "team."

After it was all over, a top campaign strategist told me flatly, "Finch would not have won without Reagan."

At various times Steffgen refers darkly to Reagan-Kuchel and Reagan-Rockefeller "alliances." The book was published *before* the GOP convention in Miami and before Max Rafferty beat Thomas Kuchel in the primary (with Reagan on the sidelines), so Steffgen actually is guilty of nothing more than beging a bad political prognosticator.

Toward the end of his valiant but vain effort to prove Ronald Reagan either a conscious member of the liberal Democrat conspiracy or a dupe, Steffgan quotes the governor as saying in 1966, "My views haven't changed an awful lot since I was a Democrat."

And so they haven't since 1947 when Reagan wrote, "Our highest aim should be the cultivation of freedom of the individual, for therein lies the highest dignity of man. Tyranny is tyranny and—whether it comes from the Right, Left or Center—it is evil."

Ronald Reagan is not perfect—he is not without blemishes—he is not a man who has never made a mistake. But he is an *avowed* conservative who is conducting one of the most remarkable experiments in American political history: an attempt to reverse the previous liberal, centralized form of government in California, our most populous state, and replace it with a conservative, decentralized form of government, based on the belief that people can govern themselves better than any batch of bureaucrats, political scientists or sociologists, however brilliant.

That he is beginning to succeed after less than two years in office is evident from the work of the various task forces of business and professional men who contributed their time to study the operations of California's government.

Of 1,700 specific recommendations for efficiencies and economies which apply directly to the administration, 439 have already been implemented, providing a potential one-time saving of $17 million and annual savings of $108.5 million. Fully implemented, the recommendations have the potential of saving as much as $600 million over the next 10 years.

If you want to learn more about the "real" Ronald Reagan, I recommend that you read Devin-Adair's collection of 21 outstanding addresses by the governor, entitled, *The Creative Society*. Of particular merit are the ones on crime, race and the ghetto, peace and victory, and what Reagan calls the "last island of freedom"; that is, the United States of America. That address concludes:

"We stand here on the only island of freedom that is left in the whole world. There is no place to flee to . . . no place to escape to. We defend freedom here or it is gone. There is no place for us to run, only to make a stand. And if we fail, I think we face telling our children, and our children's children, what it was we found more precious than freedom."

Ronald Reagan is one man determined *not* to fail and there are apparently a lot of Californians and Americans across the country, judging by his strong showing in Miami in August, who have joined his crusade to build a Creative Society.

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Free Drugs for Those Over 65?

New report shows need grossly exaggerated

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

It was just a year ago that Russell Long of Louisiana was regaling the Senate with a plan to ease or to remove the burden of drug expenses for the nation's 19 million oldsters. It was prednisone in every pot and a wonderful political gimmick.

The senator proposed to accomplish his prodigies in part through a system relying upon the use of generic drugs instead of brand-name drugs. For example, a drug user now pays roughly $7 for 100 tablets of the brand-name "Serpasil," when he can get substantially the same thing under the generic name of reserpine for $2.91. An asthma victim may pay $8.50 for brand-name "Meticorten" when he can get 30 tablets of the generic prednisone for $2.58. By inducing doctors to prescribe generically, rather than by brand names, the senator saw the possibility of reducing drug expenses for the elderly by at least $100 million a year.

Welfare Secretary John Gardner, to his lasting credit, was exceedingly skeptical of Long's full-blown projections. He urged the Congress to wait until a study of drug costs could be completed. In the end, his persuasion prevailed and the Long bill was put on the back of the stove.

Now the study is complete—it came from the Welfare Department two weeks ago—and it becomes possible to take a reasoned look at the whole proposition of expanding Medicare to cover prescription drugs. This broad question of public policy, of course, is far more important than the lesser question of savings on generic drugs. Do the American people want to follow the path of Great Britain into one more field of medical care at public expense? Is the burden of drug costs so great upon sick individuals—especially oldsters—that it should be borne under some government plan?

I myself think not; many readers will disagree. In any event, the facts are now at hand in the report of HEW's Task Force on Prescription Drugs.

Beyond question, the drug expense involved in prolonged treatment of chronic disease can be a terrible burden for the poor. In this narrow category, some social relief may be required. But the

Sen. Russell Long's pill-in-the-sky proposal did not stand up under close investigation.

dimensions of the problem as a whole, it appears, are not nearly so vast as one might have inferred from the speeches of Sen. Long. Of the 19 million Americans who are 65 or older, roughly 11.8 million are generally able to handle their medical costs without great hardship. They may have retirement income, plus Social Security, plus Medicare, plus health insurance.

What we are talking about, in terms of actual need, is the problem faced by some 7.5 million men and women, over 65, whose meager incomes fall below the poverty line. Perhaps 1.5 million of them already get free drugs through existing welfare programs or through their physicians. We're really talking of only six million persons.

How great is the burden of drug costs to them? The study indicates that average per capita outlays for prescription drugs amount to about 80 cents a week—$41.40 per year—for those over 65. And how much might be saved if doctors were induced or required to prescribe certain drugs by their generic names? The answer is: remarkably little. The task force found that 409 drug products account for 88 per cent of all prescriptions among the elderly. Only 67 of the 409 present opportunities for significant savings. On these 67, gross savings in the magnitude of $41.5 million a year might be realized. This figures out to perhaps a nickel a week in terms of per capita annual costs. The burden on grandma, in brief, might drop from $41.40 a year to $38.92. Big deal.

Moreover, the calculations of gross savings make no allowance for the heavy administrative expenses that would be required in any program that required generic prescribing. The figures rest upon the doubtful assumption that the generics, in every case, are therapeutically equivalent to the brand-name products. Equal quality also is assumed. And even with all these assumptions, the savings that might result from a radical invasion by government into private medical practice scarcely can be regarded as substantial. The senator's statistics were hot air statistics. Washington is full of them; but it's not often you see hot air dispelled so effectively by a cold front of facts.

(Copyright 1968, Washington *Star* Syndicate)

High Corporate Taxes

How We Discourage Investment

By HENRY HAZLITT

Personal income tax rates that rise to the level of 77 per cent obviously discourage incentives, investment and production. But no politician raises the point for fear he will be accused of defending the rich.

What is probably an even greater discouragement to new investment and increased production is the present income tax rate of 52.8 per cent on corporations. Yet this gets even less criticism than high personal income taxes. Nobody wants to defend the corporations. They are everybody's whipping boy. And yet they are the key productive element on which the nation's income, wealth and economic growth depend.

There was at least some awareness of this until recent years. When the tax on corporation income was first imposed in 1913 it was at the very cautious rate of 1 per cent. It never got above 15 per cent until 1937. In the midst of World War II it was still only 40 per cent. It did not get to 52 per cent until 1952.

Today such a rate is taken for granted. Yet most of those who approve of it, and even suggest it could be a little higher, are the very people who have been complaining most loudly in recent years about the country's disappointing rate of economic growth.

The present average tax on all corporations is about 45 per cent. On successful corporations of any size, however, the average rate is close to 52 per cent. Broadly speaking, therefore, when anybody contemplates a *new* corporate investment, he will not make it unless the investment promises to yield *before taxes* at least twice as much as the return he would consider worthwhile. If, for example, a man would not consider a new investment worthwhile unless it promised a 10 per cent average annual return on his capital outlay, it would have to promise a return of 20 per cent on that outlay before taxes.

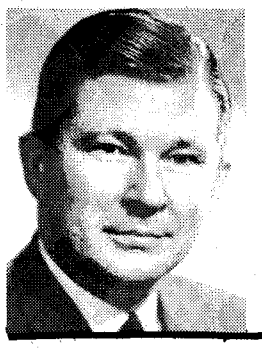
What is at least as important as reducing the incentive to investment is that the present corporate income tax reduces the funds available for investment. In the second quarter of 1968, according to estimates of the Department of Commerce, U.S. corporations were earning total profits before taxes at an annual rate of $92 billion. Out of this their corporate tax liability was $41 billion. This reduced their profits after taxes to $51 billion. Out of this sum, in turn, $24 billion was paid out in dividends while $26 billion was retained in undistributed profits.

This last figure represents the corporations' own reinvestment in working capital, inventories, improvement, new plant and equipment. If there had been no corporate tax whatever, and there had been the same proportionate distribution of profits between dividends and reinvestment, the amount of money reinvested would have been $47 billion instead of $26 billion—about $21 billion, or 80 per cent, more a year.

By discouraging and retarding investment in new machinery and plant, the 52.8 per cent marginal corporation income tax shields existing obsolescent capacity from the competition of the new, modern and efficient plant and equipment that would otherwise come into existence, or come into existence much sooner.

It is obvious that a corporation income tax in the neighborhood of 50 per cent must drastically reduce both the incentive and the funds for new investment, and therefore for the consequent increase in jobs, productivity, real wages and economic growth that the politicians are always calling for. By striking so directly against new investment, in fact, the present high corporate income tax slows down economic growth more effectively than almost any other type of tax.

(Copyright 1968, Los Angeles Times)



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In Defense of 'Track System'

By DR. MAX RAFFERTY

Unless we school people are careful, one of the innocent casualties of the present Negro fight for better education is liable to be the so-called "track system" of instruction.

For the uninitiated, the track system is simply a method of grouping children according to their ability and present achievment. The theory is that a gifted child is going to be learning more and working harder if he's put with other above-average youngsters than if you let him loaf along in a regular classroom situation where he's so much smarter that anyone else that he ends up bored stiff. Similarly, putting the slow child with others with similar problems enables the teacher to concentrate on his particular needs and weaknesses without neglecting the rest of the class.

Former D.C. School Superintendent Carl Hansen (above) paid for his advocacy of the track system with his job.

The track system, in a highly sophisticated version, was the basis for Carl Hansen's famous "Amidon Plan" which did so much to help the culturally handicapped Negro children of Washington, D.C., and which went down the tube last year under the onslaught of the "Black Power" activists.

Why is tracking currently in the racial doghouse?

Basically, for one reason: in any school with a sizable black enrollment, the so-called "slow" track is bound to have an outsized proportion of black students. Since this amounts to an apparent resegregation of an otherwise desegregated school, some of our leading civil rights advocates have recently been looking at the track system with a cold and somewhat jaundiced eye.

Well, they'd better look a little longer.

Of course the slow track is going to be mostly black today. But how about tomorrow?

One of the purposes of the slow track is to meet the special needs of the educationally disadvantaged. The color of the disadvantaged child is gloriously irrelevant to the problem. A century ago, the slow track would have been populated with freckle-faced Irish kids just off the boat. Fifty years later, it would have resembled Little Italy. Today it's black.

So what?

Right now, the black child is more apt to be disadvantaged than anyone else is. So any educational device set up to help the disadvantaged is bound to be dealing largely with black kids. That's the way things are today.

Here are the characteristics of a good school tracking system, and I only wish my black activist friends would concentrate on getting these into their local schools instead of trying to do the whole valuable program in:

Children should be placed in the several groupings solely because of indicated individual abilities and needs. No one should pay the slightest attention to whether the kids are black, brown, white or yellow.

• Semiannual evaluations should be an important part of the program, with emphasis placed on moving a child from one track to another just as soon as the evidence shows that he can profit from the move. The goal of the low track should be to send its enrollees on to higher tracks.

• The teachers of the slow tracks should be every bit as well trained, dedicated and experienced as are their colleagues who are shepherding the high-trackers.

• Each track should have its own books, tapes and other teaching materials carefully chosen to meet the needs of its own youngsters.

Give me an integrated school with this kind of a track system for about three years, and at the end of that time I'll show you high tracks with plenty of black youngsters working in them and doing well. In 30 years, if you let me spread the system all over America, I'll show you low tracks which are no longer disproportionately black.

Why 30 years? Because that's how long it takes for any educational practice to change things.

Too slow?

Education is slow. It has to be, or it's not education. Real schooling moves not like a prairie fire but like a glacier.

It's just as well. I don't think we'd like prairie-fire education, even if it were available.

(Copyright 1968, Los Angeles Times)

The Ford Foundation has figured in the recent school strike in New York City. Above, UFT President Albert Shanker (left), Mayor John Lindsay and State Commissioner of Education James Allen hold a news conference announcing a tentative end to the strike.

The Ford Foundation's Politics

By ALICE WIDENER

Charges and counter-charges are profuse in the New York City teachers' strike that kept a million public school children out of classrooms almost all fall. Basically, Ford Foundation money is at the root of the entire affair, for "FF" dreamed up the original idea for decentralization of the New York City public school system which has resulted in an ugly hassle over community control.

McGeorge Bundy, president of the Ford Foundation, bitterly denies charges against it by Albert Shanker, president of the striking teachers' union. Mr. Bundy says Mr. Shanker is "absolutely wrong" in charging that Ford Foundation subsides to organizations headed by three new members of the Board of Education are influencing the course of the ruinous strike. "If private foundations cannot assist experiments," says Mr. Bundy, "their unique role will be impaired, to the detriment of American society."

That is a most sweeping statement. Many foundations have done marvelous work in financing experiments of value to our society; others have financed experiments that have been detrimental to it.

The Ford Foundation always has had a kind of split personality, ever since it began operations in a big way during the early 1950s. Some of its activities have been admirable; others not so praiseworthy.

Albert Shanker says that the Ford Foundation "is investing heavily in every major organization that has influence over the educational policies of the city. That fact should cause concern for all of us. Why are they doing it? They are doing it to influence the educational policies of the city."

Mr. Shanker has a strong point which the FF seeks to blunt. For if it were to admit openly its efforts to mold city policy that effort could be called "political" and therefore not permissible for a tax-exempt foundation. His question, "Why are they doing it?" ought to be asked of the Ford Foundation about several of its operations, some of them of such a nature that many concerned citizens believe there ought to be a New York state or federal investigation of the Ford Foundation.

Its disavowal of political activity is understandable but not very credible when one reads the Ford Foundation press release of Friday, Nov 8, 1968, which announces contribution of "travel and study grants totaling $131,069 for eight members of the staff of the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy. . ..Jerry Bruno, Joseph Dolan, Peter Edelman, Dall Forsythe, Earl Graves, Thomas Johnston, Frank Mankiewicz and Adam Walinsky."

Simple arithmetic shows that each of the late Sen. Kennedy's staffmen will receive about $16,350 and it is very hard to believe such an across-the-board deal is nonpolitical. Rather, it smacks blatantly of "Okay, boys, we'll take care of you." No matter how truly sorry one feels for a group of people whose employer was murdered, one is forced to say that their subsidy by a tax-exempt foundation is a very questionable affair.

The blatancy of the Ford Foundation's evident political action in the case of the eight Robert Kennedy staffmen lends substance to the speculation that Albert Shanker may not be so wrong and there may be other equally blatant political aspects of the Ford Foundation. Some official group representing taxpayers' interests ought to look into it, despite all its glib alibis

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

HCUA Makes Its Recommendations

From the Richmond *News Leader*

Years ago the enemies of the House Committee on Un-American Activities initiated the cry that "HCUA has no legislative function" and that for that reason, among others, the committee should be abolished. Consequently, much of the public has come to believe that HCUA has achieved little or nothing in the field of legislation, and has not fulfilled its primary duty of recommending laws in the area of its jurisdiction. This, of course, is tommyrot.

We have before us a list of the legislative recommendations submitted by the committee in the 90th Congress. The list includes recommendations to make it a federal offense for any American to trade with any foreign power, or its representatives, engaged in armed conflict with the United States; to make it a federal offense to obstruct the free movement of military personnel or supplies of the Armed Forces; to authorize the President to prohibit or regulate travel to specific countries when he feels the security interests of the United States warrant such action; and to authorize the secretary of state to deny or revoke passports to persons who, "in traveling abroad, will likely engage in activities to further the purposes of the world Communist movement."

Moreover, the committee proposed legislation to prohibit the employment of a member of a Communist-action organization in any defense facility; to establish a research and educational center to instruct persons in the techniques and subterfuges of Communist strategy and tactics; to curb certain terroristic activities of Klan-type organizations; to allow the government, in time of war, to eliminate subversives from industries having classified contracts; and to authorize the President, in time of war, to suspend or remove from government office certain persons he may deem undesirable.

Some of those recommendations have become law, others have been killed, still others never came to a vote and will be re-submitted next year. But subversion is not any easy area in which to legislate, for the lawmakers must accommodate the exigencies of self-preservation and the values of the Constitution.

Considering the difficulties, HCUA's record is remarkable; the committee's legislative recommendations, approved by Congress, comprise the bulk of the nation's internal security laws. Good ol' HCUA: It evidently operates on the basis of Edmund Burke's adage that "early and provident fear is the mother of safety." Because it does such an effective job, is it any wonder that HCUA has so many enemies?

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Schlesinger's Hatchet Job on Nixon

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Whoever said Arthur Schlesinger Jr. is a historian?

He's a hatchet man, the most expert in the country. His long article on Richard Nixon, printed in the Sunday New York *Times Magazine* for November 17, drips with feline innuendo, false comparisons, casual misstatements of position. The blood spurts from practically every sentence.

Let's begin with the comparisons. Arthur says that Nixon "seems sectionless and classless"; he is a "product of the mobility of the new technical society," one of the "mobile 'new' men who inhabit what J. K. Galbraith has called the "technostructure.'" All this is based on the fact that Nixon, after losing out to Pat Brown in a fight to become governor of California, decided to move to New York in order to make some money at his profession of the law.

Schlesinger says that President John F. Kennedy, in contrast to Nixon, had

'Historian' Arthur Schlesinger is not exactly a Nixon fan.

deep roots "in the Eastern aristocracy," Johnson "in Texas feudalism," Eisenhower "in the military world," "Truman in the middle border." Nixon's sin is that he was "born in California, trained to the law in North Carolina, elected to the presidency from New York."

What a mishmash. John F. Kennedy was not rooted "in the Eastern aristocracy"; he was the son of a self-made Irishman of immigrant stock who quit the Boston area to move to a New York suburb in order to play the stock market.

I say this not in criticism of Joe Kennedy, whose ambition was to catch up with the Yankees he had left behind back in the Bay State. He was a good man who realized that money could give his children an Ivy League patina that he had not quite achieved for himself at Harvard when the Irish were struggling to rise above second-class campus citizenship.

He sent son John to Princeton and to the London School of Economics in addition to Harvard. John's relations to the "Eastern aristocracy" (whatever that means) were those of a rootless young man who passed his early life moving from New York suburbia to a "summer people's" Cape Cod and on to a Palm Beach swimming pool where, as Rose Kennedy said in a moment of nostalgic desolation, her children grew up. In other words, the Kennedys were mobile "new men," newcomers to wealth. Again, this isn't said in criticism; "new men" are needed.

As for Eisenhower, he was the first of his family to become a military man. Johnson, as the representative of "Texas feudalism," is a laugh; are we to understand that cowboys are peasants? Johnson was a schoolteacher whose roots were in Populism.

Nixon went to law school at Duke University, but it is absurd to say that he was "trained in the law in North Carolina." He never practiced there; his law experience was gained in small-town California. And why shouldn't he have moved to New York to make money? Joe Kennedy did.

The fact is that Nixon has always been rooted in the wide middle class, just as Harry Truman was. He knows what it is to fight for a dollar, a job, a conviction. He has changed less than John F. Kennedy changed; after all, Kennedy began his effective political career with a speech that alleged it was the State Department which lost China to Mao Tse-tung. As James MacGregor Burns points out, JFK was evasive on McCarthyism, and Bobby Kennedy worked for Joe McCarthy.

Schlesinger holds Nixon's 1962 chastisement of the press against him, presumably as an example of the "paranoia" he imputes to a man who, like Lyndon Johnson, is capable of expressing anger when he thinks he has been treated unfairly. Well, listen to former editor of the Washington *Post* J. Russell Wiggins on the subject of Nixon's wrath. Says Mr. Wiggins: "I didn't join the criticism of Nixon for his intemperate remarks to the press after his loss to Pat Brown. . . . He was damned sore. . . . The questions rubbed him the wrong way, so why shouldn't he answer sharply to reporters? I think any good reporter would respect him more for reacting that way."

As for me, I'm damned sore at Arthur Schlesinger. I think he's a lousy reporter. I could write five columns about his hatchet job, but I won't. There are better things to do, such as giving a good fighter a break to see how he will handle himself in the presidency.

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Advice to New President

We Need Some Judicious 'Witch-Hunting'

By FREDERIC NELSON

By this time President-elect Nixon must have discovered that there are limits to what can be expected from his efforts to unite the country by means of well-intentioned gestures to the opposition, which plainly has no intention of making life easy for him.

With the courtesy calls and statements about "wooing" this or that dissenting group out of the way, Mr. Nixon must have discovered that, before he can hope to unite the country, he will have to unite his own party and the millions outside his party who voted for him. He will take office owing nothing to the Big Labor tycoons, the "Black Power" extremists or the "liberal" Republicans whose maneuvering probably cost him New York. But he owes a great deal to millions of ordinary Americans who are tired of being told that they are helpless in the face of revolution and collapse, and expect positive leads from him in the opposite direction. "Turning the clock back" you could call it, if you want to be captious.

An early priority, therefore, ought to be the identification by name and number of the subversive groups and individuals who have been doing their best to disunite the country—whether they be Students for a Democratic Society, Communist ideologues on college and university faculties, or even the fellow-traveling characters in the communications media who profit by left-slanted accounts of "happenings"—*vide* the police activity outside the Chicago convention. Yes, the liberals will yell "Witch hunt!" and the answer to that is simply that, if there are witches about, why not hunt 'em?

Despite the efforts of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover and the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the ignorance of the average American on what's causing our current disorders is appalling.

Talk with any middle-class wife and mother at a cocktail party and you find she really believes that our colleges and universities are being disrupted because of poor food in the commons, no sex at library teas, or failure to make Swahili a compulsory course. Readers of *Human Events*, *National Review* and Mrs. Alice Widener's *U.S.A.* magazine know something about the purpose and revolutionary connections of SDS, to name one of these leeches, but readers of the mass magazines and newspapers never get the word.

In a round-up on what youth thought about Nixon's win, the New York *Times* quoted a girl of 18 who said she expected a return to "McCarthyism" with oppression and injustice for all. She admitted she hadn't been born till long after the ordeal was over, but she insisted that she *knew* all about it. Maybe a modern version of McCarthyism would enlighten the poor kid on the kind of people who filled her in!

Pro-Red and left-leaning witches have far too long had a field day, hexing college presidents, scaring the daylights out of State Department officials and setting seemingly sane housewives to gaggling irresponsibly. The plainest warnings are ignored, as the ancient Romans to their hurt disregarded the cacklings of the geese on the Capitoline. The efforts of informed people to "tell it like it is" get small support from the great organs of opinion.

In the face of Soviet advances in all sorts of weaponry, the New York *Times*, before the election, inquired of Mr. Nixon whether he really believed it was "necessary to continue the endless arms race, to build an anti-ballistic-missile network and other offensive weapons." As far as domestic troubles are concerned, the *Times* sought to console us extremists by explaining that "the Communist party was never a major force in American life" and is now "in evanescent shadow, its small membership composed mainly of FBI members, old people trapped by ancient loyalties and a handful of young people." (Whittaker Chambers, where are you?)

All this is rather terrifying, and suggests that Mr. Nixon, who knows more about communism than any President since the Russian Revolution, might assign himself to the task of giving the *Times* something a little more realistic to print on page 1.

Also, of course, there has to be some missionary work among conservatives. The extent of the Wallace vote, which Nixon ought to have been able to count on, makes this apparent.

The Wallace voters I have encountered seem to be understandably impatient people who won't accept the kind of conservative they can get because he falls down on this or that shibboleth (flourides in the water, impeachment of Earl Warren, invasion of Cuba) which they insist is the one all-important attribute of conservatism.

Even I, for example, was tempted to yell "Munich!" when the President called off the bombing of North Viet Nam and suggested bringing the murderous National Liberation Front into the new peace talks. However, I can understand why Nixon, faced with an electorate which has never been informed of the essential American interests involved in that struggle, elected to look happy about it.

As things turned out, it might have been better to let LBJ have a monopoly of his coup, but four days before election even a conservative, anti-Communist politician has to think of all possible consequences. Suppose Nixon had yelled "Munich!" and the Democrats, by this time pretty well tarred with Eugene McCarthyism, had won! Well. . . .

Failing a revival of judicious witch hunting, I find myself increasingly diverted by fantasy—such as an imaginary drama in which Senators Fulbright and McGovern, Tom Hayden and Mark Rudd, the Guy Fawkes of Columbia, are pictured as prisoners in a North Vietnamese dungeon—with none but Republicans and conservatives daring to defy the New Left by signing a full-page ad in the New York *Times* demanding their release! It's a way of sanity-keeping.

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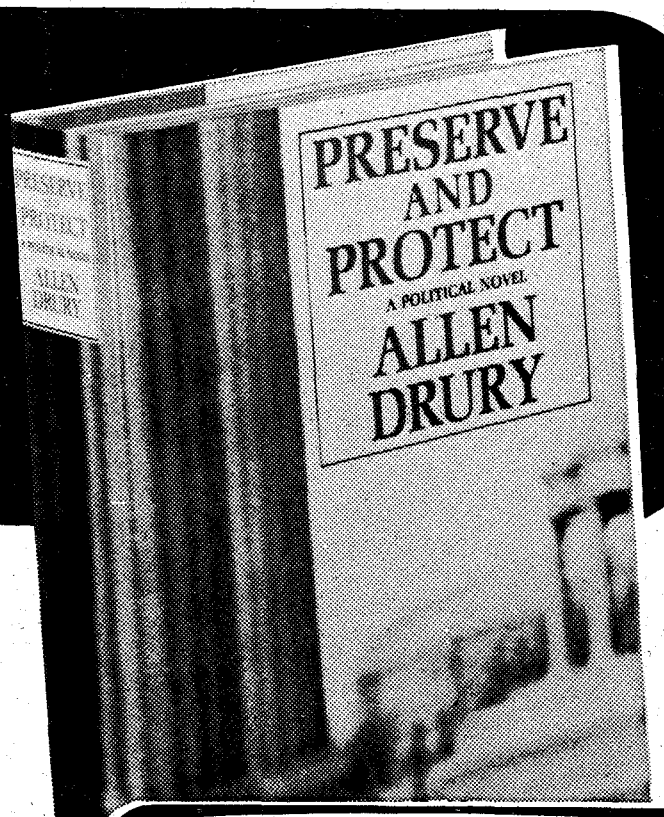

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by Allen Drury

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Now the flag-draped coffin was inching up the soft green hill toward Arlington National Cemetery. It held the remains of Harley M. Hudson, who two days before had been President of the United States. The muffled drums rolled their relentless beat. Suddenly, shattering the hush, another hearse careened alongside Harley Hudson's. Another cortege, this one with horns blaring, riders screaming, placards waving.

The next fifteen minutes horrified the nation and the world. Cars in the opposing group wore the white dove of COMFORT, the clenched fist of DEFY, the flaming torch of KEEP — the same extremists who had rioted at the gates of the White House the night before last. The passengers, made up about equally of whites and blacks, aimed their cars at the caisson and the limousines, screeching obscenities. Then they broke into a chant that told the world what they thought of Harley Hudson — and what they meant to do with his coffin: "INTO THE DITCH, YOU SON OF A BITCH! INTO THE DITCH, YOU SON OF A BITCH!"

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On May 19, 1968 the New York Times reported that Allen Drury had issued "a bitter attack" on McCall's magazine and on Norman Cousins, chairman of the editorial committee of the McCall Corporation and editor of Saturday Review.

Mr. Drury blamed Mr. Cousins for the decision to drop serialization of Preserve and Protect after the magazine had paid him $50,000. "I am sure no book of mine will ever appear in McCall's while he is the controlling factor there, nor will he ever again permit a fair review of any book of mine to appear in Saturday Review," said Mr. Drury in a written statement.

McCall's editor James Fixx said the decision not to serialize had been his, "after consulting with a few people, including Mr. Cousins." After receiving the manuscript, said Mr. Fixx, he thought the book would become a bestseller but "decided it was not the kind of work to which we wanted to give that much space in the magazine."

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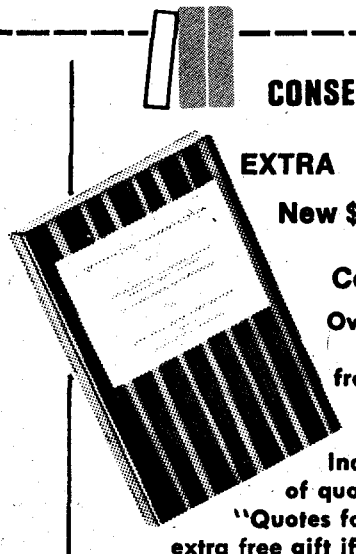

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